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Arch. Clarend.





A
NEW AND FULL
METHOD
OF SETTLING
THE CANONICAL AUTHORITY
OF THE
NEW TESTAMENT.

TO WHICH IS SUBJOINED
A VINDICATION OF THE FORMER PART
OF
ST. MATTHEW'S GOSPEL,
FROM MR. WHISTON'S CHARGE OF DISLOCATIONS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

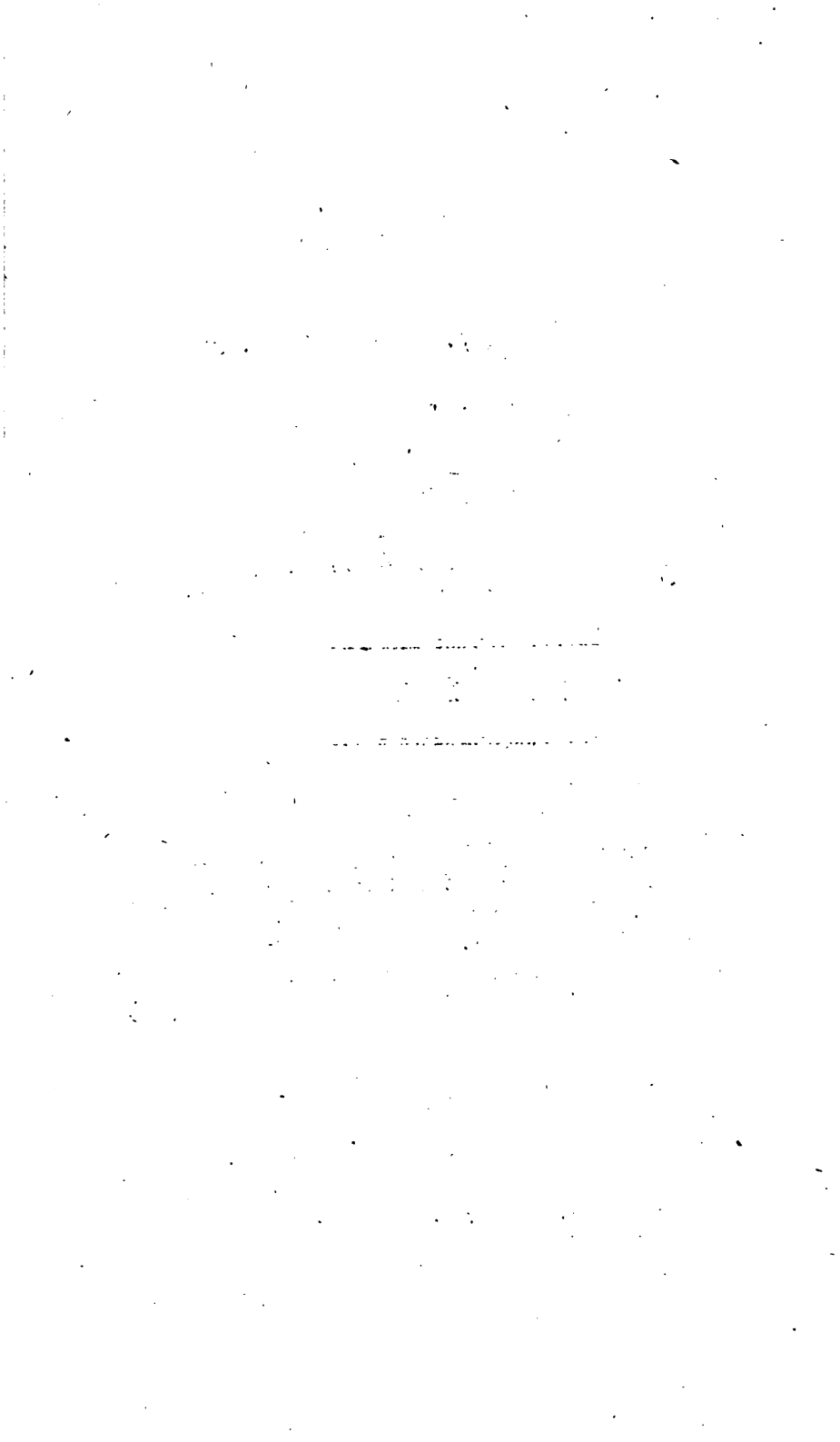
BY
THE REV. JEREMIAH JONES.

VOL. II.

OXFORD:
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS.

MDCXCXVIII.

Clar. Press
1 h. 109.



A
M E T H O D
FOR
SETTLING THE CANON
OF THE
NEW TESTAMENT.

P A R T III.

C H A P. I.

The Letter of Abgarus to Christ, with Christ's Answer to Abgarus in Greek and English. The Accounts of the Antients, viz. Eusebius, Ephraem Syrus, &c. relating to them. The Sentiments of modern Writers concerning them. They have been rejected by most, but esteemed as genuine by several learned Men in England.

Numb. I. The EPISTLE of JESUS CHRIST to
ABGARUS, KING of EDESSA.

THAT there were formerly several writings ascribed to our Saviour, as well as his Apostles, I have observed in the preceding volume (viz. Part II. Ch. XIV, XV.) Those are all lost, but were undoubtedly spurious and supposititious.

Vol. II. B

stitious pieces, as I have there largely endeavoured to prove. But besides these, there is now extant a letter under the name of Christ to an Arabian king, which, translated out of Syriack into Greek, is preserved in the writings of Eusebius ^a. It has been esteemed by many learned men after Eusebius to be truly genuine, and consequently must be one of the most valuable and antient monuments of the Christian religion. It deserves therefore a very strict enquiry, which I shall attempt with all the brevity and clearness I can; and in order to that, first produce the letter itself, with that of Abgarus to our Saviour, which occasioned it, or to which it is an answer. Both indeed have appeared before now in English, viz. in the *English edition of Eusebius*, and the present Archbishop of Canterbury's Prefatory Discourse to his *Translation of the Apostolick Fathers* (Ch. IX. p. 137.), and elsewhere ^b; but I judged it notwithstanding needful to insert a translation of them, for the sake of those, who neither having seen these books, nor understanding the ~~Greek language~~, may have the curiosity of desiring to see any thing which is by so many learned men supposed to be written by Christ himself.

Ἀντίγραφον Ἐπιστολῆς γρα-
φείσης ὑπὸ Ἀβγαροῦ το-
πάρχου τῷ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ πεμψ-
θείσης αὐτῷ δι' Ἀνανία
ταχυδρόμου εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.

*A copy of a letter written by
King Abgarus to Jesus, and
sent to him by Ananias, his
footman, to Jerusalem.*

ἈΒΓΑΡΟΣ τοπάρχης Ἐδέσ-
σης Ἰησοῦ Σωτῆρι ἀγαθῷ ἀνα-
φανέντι ἐν τόπῳ Ἱεροσολύμων,
χαίρειν. Ἦκασαί μοι τὰ περὶ
σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν ἰαμάτων, ὡς

ABGARUS, King of Edessa,
to Jesus the good Saviour,
who appears at Jerusalem,
Greeting. I have been in-
formed concerning you and
your cures, which are per-

^a Histor. Eccl. l. i. c. 13.

^b The common people in Eng-
land have it in their houses, in
many places, fixed in a frame with
our Saviour's picture before it; and

they generally with much honesty
and devotion regard it as the word
of God, and the genuine Epistle of
Christ.

ἀνευ φαρμάκων καὶ βοτανῶν
ὑπὸ σὲ γινομένων· ὡς γὰρ λό-
γῳ, τυφλὰς ἀναβλέπαν ποι-
εῖς, χωλὰς περιπατεῖν, καὶ
λεπρῶς καθαρῖζεις, καὶ ἀκά-
θαρτα πνεύματα καὶ δαίμονας
ἐκβάλλεις, καὶ τὰς ἐν μακρο-
νοσίᾳ βασανιζομένους θεραπεύ-
εις, καὶ νεκρὰς ἐγείρεις. Καὶ
ταῦτα πάντα ἀκύσας περὶ σὲ
κατὰ νῦν ἰδέμεν τὸ ἕτερον τῶν
δύο· ἢ ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ κα-
ταβὰς ἀπὸ τῆ ἑρᾶν ποιεῖς
ταῦτα, ἢ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ Θεοῦ ποι-
ῶν ταῦτα. Διὰ τῆτο τοίνυν
γράψας ἰδεήθην σε σκυλῆναι
πρὸς με καὶ τὸ πάθος ὃ ἔχω
θεραπεῦσαι. Καὶ γὰρ ἤκουσα
ὅτι καὶ Ἰσδαῖοι καταγογγύζου-
σίν σε, καὶ βέλονται κακῶσαί
σε. Πόλις δὲ μικροτάτη μοι
εἰς καὶ σεμνή, ἥτις ἔχαρκεῖ
ἀμφοτέροις.

formed without the use of me-
dicines and herbs. For it is
reported, that you cause the
blind to see, the lame to walk,
do both cleanse lepers, and cast
out unclean spirits and devils,
and restore them to health who
have been long diseased, and
raisest up the dead: all which
when I heard, I was persuaded
of one of these two, viz. ei-
ther that you are God him-
self descended from heaven,
who do these things, or the
Son of God. On this ac-
count therefore I have wrote
to you, earnestly to desire you
would take the trouble of a
journey hither, and cure a dis-
ease which I am under. For
I hear the Jews ridicule you,
and intend you mischief. My
city is indeed small, but neat,
and large enough for us both.

Τὰ ἀντιγραφόμενα ὑπ' Ἰησοῦ
δι' Ἀνανία ταχυθρόμῃ το-
πάρχῃ Ἀβγαρῷ.

*The answer of Jesus by Ana-
nias the footman to Abgarus
the king.*

*ΑΒΓΑΡΕ, μακάριος εἶ, πείσ-
τεύσας ἐν ἐμοὶ μὴ ἰωρακῶς με.
Γέγραπται γὰρ περὶ ἐμῆς, τὰς
ἰωρακώτας με μὴ πεισεύσκειν
μοι, ἵνα οἱ μὴ ἰωρακότες αὐτοὶ

ABGARUS, you are happy,
forasmuch as you have be-
lieved on me, whom you have
not seen. For it is written
concerning me, that those who
have seen me should not be-
lieve

πιστεύωσι καὶ ζήσονται. Περὶ
 δὲ ἧ ἔγραψάς μοι ἔλθειν πρὸς
 σέ, δέον ἐστὶ πάντα δι' αὐ-
 πεσάλην, ἐνταῦθα πληρῶσαι
 με, καὶ μετὰ τὸ πληρῶσαι,
 ἕτως ἀναληφθῆναι πρὸς τὸν
 ἀποσείλαντά με. Καὶ ἐπει-
 δὴν ἀναληφθῶ, ἀποσελῶ σοι
 τινὰ τῶν μαθητῶν μου, ἵνα
 ἰάσῃται σὺ τὸ πάθος, καὶ
 ζῶῃς σοί, καὶ τοῖς σὺν σοί
 παρ᾿ ἅσχηται.

lieve on me, that they who
 have not seen might believe
 and live. As to that part of
 your letter, which relates to
 my giving you a visit (I must
 inform you), that I must ful-
 fill all the ends of my mission
 in this country, and after that
 be received up again to him
 who sent me. But after my
 ascension I will send one of
 my disciples, who will cure
 your disease, and give life to
 you, and all that are with
 you.

In discussing the question concerning the genuineness of these epistles, I shall proceed in my usual method, viz. shew-
 ing

- I. What account we have from the antients.
- II. The opinion of the moderns.
- III. That which seems most probable upon the whole.

I. *As to the accounts we have from the antients*, I observe that these epistles are first mentioned

1. By Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. l. i. c. 13.

The substance of his account is; "That our Saviour's
 "miraculous works drew innumerable persons to him from
 "the most remote countries, to be healed of their distempers;
 "that Abgarus, a famous king beyond Euphrates, wrote to
 "him, because he was afflicted with a distemper incurable by
 "human art; and that whereas our Saviour promised to send
 "one of his disciples to heal him, this was accordingly done
 "by Thaddæus, one of the Seventy Apostles, who was sent
 "thither by Thomas, according to an instruction which he
 "had received from heaven on that head. For the proof of
 "all this he appeals to the public registries and records of the
 "city

“ city of Edessa, where Abgarus then reigned, and in which all
 “ the records of his reign were preserved till the time of his
 “ writing, out of which in the Syriack language he saith he
 “ took, and being translated into Greek he published, the two
 “ preceding epistles, and the following history, viz. That when
 “ Thaddæus came to Edessa, after Christ’s ascension, and had
 “ wrought many miracles, and cured many distempers, Ab-
 “ garus, supposing him to be the person whom Christ had
 “ promised in his letter to send, ordered him to be brought to
 “ him. As soon as he came, the king perceiving something
 “ extraordinary in his countenance, fell down before him, at
 “ which the noblemen who were present were surprised, they
 “ perceiving nothing of it. The king then enquired whe-
 “ ther he were the person whom Christ promised to send: he
 “ answered, that on account of his faith in Christ he was sent,
 “ and assured him all things should be according to his faith.
 “ To which the king replied, he believed so much in Christ,
 “ that he was resolved, had he not feared the power of the
 “ Roman empire, to have made war against the Jews, and
 “ destroyed them for crucifying Christ. Thaddæus informed
 “ him of Christ’s ascension to his Father; to which the king
 “ replied, that he believed on him and his Father both: upon
 “ which the Apostle said, *I lay my hand on thee in the name of*
 “ *our Lord Jesus Christ*; and the king was instantly cured of
 “ his disease. He also cured one Abdus of the gout by the
 “ laying on of his hands, and many others, working also di-
 “ verse miracles. After which the king ordered on the mor-
 “ row all the city to meet together, to hear the Apostle
 “ preach; which he promised to do concerning all the heads
 “ of the Christian religion. The king offered him gold and
 “ silver, but he refused it, saying, *We have left our own, why*
 “ *should we take that which is anothers?* These things were
 “ done in the year 340, and translated out of Syriack.”

2. These Epistles are mentioned by Ephraem Syrus, in Tes-
 tament. tom. iii.

He was a deacon in this city of Edessa in the latter end of

the fourth century. Dr. Grabe* has obliged the world with the Greek words out of a Manuscript in the Bodleian Library, which are as follow :

Καὶ εὐλογημένη ὑμῶν ἡ πόλις
 Ἐδεσσα καὶ μητὴρ, ἥτις καὶ
 ἀποφαντικῶς ὑψόγῃται ἐκ
 τόματ^ο Κυρίου διὰ τῶν αὐτῶ
 μαθητῶν, ἡμετέρων δὲ ἀπο-
 σόλων· ὁπηνίκα ἀποστείλας
 Αὐγαρος ὁ ταύτην ἀνεγείρας
 βασιλεὺς ἤξῃς δεξιῶσθαι τὸν
 ἐν τῇ ἐπιδημίᾳ ἀναφανέντα
 σωτῆρα τῶν ἅλων καὶ δεσπό-
 την Χριστὸν, λέγων· Ἦκουσα
 πάντα τὰ ὑπὸ σε διαπρατ-
 τόμενα· καὶ ὅσα πείπονθας
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἀθετάντων σε Ἰου-
 δαίων· ἔλθε τοιγαρὲν ἐνταῦθα
 καὶ αἰκησόν με. Ἐχω ἐμαυτῷ
 μικρὰν ταύτην τὴν πόλιν,
 ἥτις τυχήσοι σοί τε καὶ ἐμοί·
 καὶ θαυμάσας ὁ Κύριος τὴν
 πίσιν αὐτῆς, πέμψας δι' ἀγ-
 γέλων αἰωνίου ὑψόγησε τὴν
 πόλιν, ἐδράσας αὐτῆς τὰ θε-
 μέλια. Ἐκείνη ἔν ἡ εὐλογία
 αὐλισθεῖσα ἐν αὐτῇ κατα-
 σκηνώσκει, ἄχρις οὗ ἀποκα-
 λυφθῇ ὁ ἅγιος ἐξ ἐρανῶ Ἰησοῦς
 ὁ Χριστός; ὁ υἱὸς τῆς Θεᾶς, καὶ
 Θεὸς ἐκ Θεᾶς.

And blessed be your city and
 mother Edessa, which was ex-
 pressly blessed by the mouth
 of our Lord by his Disciples,
 but our Apostles; for when
 Abgarus the king, who built
 that city, thought fit to send
 and acknowledge Christ the
 Lord and Saviour of all, in
 his pilgrimage on earth, say-
 ing: I have heard all things
 which are done by you, and
 how much you have suffered
 by the Jews, who contemn
 you; wherefore come hither,
 and take up your residence
 with me. I have here a
 little city, which shall be e-
 qually yours and mine. Here-
 upon the Lord admiring his
 faith, sent by messengers a
 blessing to the city, which
 should abide for ever, esta-
 blishing its foundations. That
 blessing therefore shall al-
 ways abide upon it, till the
 Holy One be revealed from
 heaven, even Jesus Christ the
 Son of God, and God of
 God.

I know no others within my time who have mentioned

* Spicileg. Patr. tom. 1. p. 1, 2.

these Epistles ; Jerome indeed seems to refer to the history in his Comment on Matthew ch. x. as does Darius Comes in an Epistle to Austin ; and Pope Gelasius^b *rejects among the spurious and Apocryphal books the Epistle under the name of Christ to Abgarus*. In the following centuries there is more frequent mention of it. Procopius Cæsariensis, who wrote about the year of Christ DXXX. (whether a Christian or Pagan is not certain) in his history of the Persian war^c, relates, "That Abgarus had been long afflicted with the gout, and finding no relief from his Physicians, but hearing of the miracles of Christ, sent to him, desired he would come and live with him ; and that upon his receiving an answer from Christ, he was instantly cured. He adds, that our Saviour in the end of his letter gave Abgarus assurance that his city should never be taken by enemies, though he himself questions the truth of this." Euagrius^d, an ecclesiastical writer in the latter end of the sixth century, appeals to this account of Procopius, and confirms the story of the city's never being to be taken, by some instances, "as particularly when Chosroes King of Persia, not crediting the common rumour, that this city was impregnable, besieged it, but that he failed in his attempt by means of a miracle which was wrought by a picture of Christ's face, which himself impressed upon a handkerchief, and sent to Abgarus at his earnest request." Cedrenus adds to all the rest^e, that Christ sealed his letter with a seal consisting of seven Hebrew letters, the interpretation of which, says he, is in Greek, *Θεῦ Θεάδην, θαύμα δὲόν*, i. e. *The divine miracle of God is seen*. Thus much concerning the antient accounts. I proceed,

II. To give some account of *the sentiments of later writers concerning it*. And in collecting these I observe, that the whole story, as well as the Epistles themselves, are generally reckoned by Protestants and Papists to be spurious and Apocryphal.

^a Edit. Lovan. Epist. 263.

^b In Decret. See Part II. of this work. Chap. VI.

^c Lib. 2. c. 12.

^d Hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 26.

^e Apud Grab. Spicileg. Patr. t. 1. p. 8. The same is in the end of an antient Manuscript copy of this Epistle in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

There are indeed some few Romish writers, and three or four divines of the Church of England, who have entertained more favourable thoughts of the matter.

Dr. Parker^a, though he would not, as he says, lay any great stress upon the story or letters, yet adds, that *he could see no ground to suspect it of forgery*; and the weightiest objections that are made against it are too light to weigh any thing with him; and elsewhere^b, "*I cannot find any thing that may in the least shake or impair the credit of the story. Nay, the contents of our Saviour's letter agree so exactly with the whole design of his life in the Gospels, as by that alone to give itself considerable authority, viz. to put off the exercise of his power, and obscure the reputation of his glory as much as he could, till after his resurrection.*" Accordingly he endeavours in both the places referred to, to answer the objections which are urged against the Epistles, and to offer arguments for their genuineness.

Dr. Cave^c declares it as his opinion, "*That so antient a monument of Christianity ought not to be rejected, which as it contains no evidences of an imposture, nor any thing unworthy of Christ, so also is delivered down to us as genuine by Eusebius, and several others of the antients.*" He adds, that all the arguments against it are trifling, and endeavours to answer them.

Dr. Grabe urges several arguments for the Epistle^d, and proposes to answer all that is said against it, though, says he, *I do not hereby own that they are undoubtedly genuine, but leave the matter in doubt.*

On the other hand Coccius^e, Rivet^f, Chemnitius^g, Of-

^a Demonstrat. of the Law of Nature and the Christian Religion, in the Preface, p. 34, &c.

^b Part II. §. 16. p. 235, &c.

^c Hist. Liter. in Christ. p. 2, 3. Vol. 1.

^d Spicileg. Patr. t. 1. p. 4. et

in notis, præcipue p. 319.

^e Cenfur. Vet. Scriptor. p. 2.

^f Vid. Critic. Sacr. l. 3. c. 2. et alibi.

^g Exam. Conc. Trid. Vol. IV. p. 44.

ander^a, Walther^b, Father Simon^c, Du Pin^c, the present Archbishop of Canterbury^e, Mr. Spanheim the younger^f, Mr. Fabritius^g, and Mr. Le Clerc^h, besides many others, have judged the whole story and the Epistles spurious, and have several of them by good arguments demonstrated them to be so.

CH A P. II.

The Epistles and History of our Saviour and Abgarus proved Spurious by several Arguments, viz. Because there is no Intimation nor Mention of them by the Apostles or Writers of the first three Centuries. Christ's Epistle Spurious, because after its Publication by Eusebius, it was universally rejected; and because it contains several Things later than the time of our Saviour; because it contains somewhat contrary to Christ's Character, and mentions Christ's Ascension.

HAVING in the former Chapter proposed the opinions of several learned men concerning these Epistles and History, I proceed now,

III. *To offer that which seems to me most probable in the matter, and without a prolix and tedious repetition of what has been already said, to discuss the subject in as clear and compendious a manner as I can.*

That the above-mentioned Letters and history were in the archives or records of Edessa, cannot, I think, be reasonably doubted by any who are acquainted with the character of Eu-

^a Epitom. Hist. Cent. I. l. 2.
c. 9.

^b Officin. Biblic. §. 1440.
p. 1215.

^c Crit. Hist. of the New Test.
Part I. c. 3.

^d Hist. of the Canon. Vol. II.
c. 6. §. 1.

^e Preface to his Translation of
the Apostolick Fathers, Ch. IX.

^f Histor. Christ. Secul. p. 578,
579.

^g Cod. Apocr. Nov. Testam.
Par. 1. p. 379.

^h Histor. Eccles. ad Ann. 29.
§. 12.

sebius, and the impartiality of his history. He positively asserts, that he himself received them out of the Archives of that city, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχείων ἡμῶν λαβόμενος (unless for ἀρχείων perhaps we should rather read ἀρχαίων, and so Eusebius only mean, that they of his time received them from the primitive or elder Christians) though it does not so evidently appear, as it is presumed always, that Eusebius was at Edessa, and there transcribed them, much less that he translated them into Greek out of Syriack, as Dr. Cave, the present Archbishop of Canterbury, and most who have lately wrote on this subject have supposed, being led into the mistake by following the Latin Translation of Valesius, without due regard to the original of Eusebius. That which is most probable is, that *Eusebius himself never was at Edessa*, because he does not assert it, which he would very probably have done, if he really had been there; and that he did not translate these Epistles himself out of Syriack into Greek, because it is, I think, very evident, that *he did not understand that language*^a. This being promised, I shall offer the following arguments against the genuineness of these Epistles and history, viz.

ARG. 1. The Epistles and History of our Saviour and Abgarus are spurious and Apocryphal, because they are not referred to, or mentioned, either in the now received Gospels, or by any writer or writers of the three first centuries after Christ. It is true indeed, there were many transactions in the life of Christ not mentioned in our present Gospels, nor was it the intention of the Authors to publish every thing he said and did; but it is on the other hand as disagreeable to their design to omit a history so very remarkable as this, than which nothing, if true, could have a greater tendency to raise men's opinion of our Saviour: but that which seems to make this argument undeniable, is, that *there was the most urgent necessity for the Apostles to have published this history*, because a controversy was arose not only between them and the believing Jews, but even between themselves, *Whether the Gospel was to be*

^a Vid. Cleric. jam cit.

preached

preached to the Gentiles at all, or whether it was not only to be confined to the Jews? Now, if this history were true, and known to the Apostles, as there could not have been any foundation for this controversy, so, if it had arose, this Epistle of Christ must soon have ended it, seeing he there expressly appoints the preaching of the Gospel to this Gentile king and his city. I conclude it therefore a forgery after Christ's time, and consequently Apocryphal. Add to all this the prevailing opinion among the antients, that *Christ himself never wrote any thing*. Thus Origen^a, Jerome^b, and Austin^c, in so many words assure us; and the last particularly writing against an Epistle under the name of Christ, which the Manichees boasted of, thus reasons^d; "*If there really be any such letter, how comes it to pass, that it is not publicly read, and received in the Church with the highest regard by those who are the successors of the Apostles?*" The Epistle therefore of Christ to Abgarus, and consequently the whole history, not being mentioned by our Evangelists, nor any of the primitive writers till Eusebius, and expressly rejected by Pope Gelasius, I conclude to be Apocryphal by Prop. IV, V, VI. Part I.

ARG. 2. I argue against this Epistle under the name of Christ, viz. that it was a spurious piece, because even after the publication of it by Eusebius, it was universally rejected. It does not appear that the credit and zeal of that historian procured it any respect, but on the contrary, as it was not known in the three preceding centuries, so it was as much disregarded in the fourth, no one writer of that century having made any mention of it, except only Ephraem Syrus, and Darius Comes, though I much question, whether that Epistle under his name to Austin be genuine, because that Father (as in the place now cited) knew nothing of any letter under the name of Christ, of which that Epistle, if there had been

^a Contr. Cels. l. 1. p. 34.

^b Comment. in Ezek. 44.

^c De Confess. Evang. lib. I.

^e 7. t. opp. 4.

^d Contr. Faust. Manich. l. 28.

c. 4. t. opp. 6. See the passage at large above, Part II. Chap. XV.

any such one, must have informed him. Now hence I argue, that if the story of Eusebius had been genuine, concerning the communication between Christ and Abgarus, it would have been regarded by Lactantius, Athanasius, Epiphanius, Hilary, Basil, Gregory, Jerome, or some of the writers of that century; every one who had credited Eusebius's account must have received the Epistle with the greatest veneration, and undoubtedly it would have been admitted into the Canon of the books of the New Testament, and established at the Council of Laodicea, which was soon after his time, and determined concerning the Canonical books. But on the contrary we find nothing of this, but an entire silence, as much as in the former ages, and therefore I conclude it Apocryphal by Prop. IV, V, and VI. I might add here, that the story of Eusebius appears the more evidently to be discredited and disregarded, in that it was now, when he published it, the time when the Arian controversy was come to a great height, and it cannot be thought but those who were warm against the Arians, would have urged the testimony of Abgarus against them in his letter, where he confesses Christ to be either *God, or the Son of God*, if they had looked upon it as genuine.

ARG. 3. The Epistle under the name of our Saviour to Abgarus is apparently spurious and Apocryphal, inasmuch as it relates *that to have been done by Christ, which could not possibly have been done till a considerable time after Christ's ascension*. The instance which I assign of this is, that in the beginning of the Epistle *a passage is cited out of St. John's Gospel*, which was not written till a considerable time after our Lord's Ascension: the words are, *Abgarus, you are happy, forasmuch as you have believed on me whom you have not seen; for it is written concerning me, That those who have seen me should not believe on me, that they who have not seen might believe and live*. This is a manifest allusion to those words of our Saviour to Thomas, John xx. 29. *Blessed are they who have not seen, and yet have believed*. Here indeed that, which the Epistle says, is written concerning Christ, but no where else

else besides: Valesius indeed says, the words of the Prophet Isai. vi. 9. are like to this supposed citation of Christ^a; but though he did not believe it himself, Dr. Grabe greedily swallows it as a sufficient answer^b, whereas nothing can be more evidently a mistake; for besides that the words of the Prophet there (*viz. Hear ye indeed, but understand not, and see ye indeed, but perceive not*) are not at all like to the citation in this Epistle, it is observable that our Saviour has several times in the Gospels cited these words of the Prophet quite different from what they are in this Epistle, both as to the words and sense, but exactly as they are in the Prophet; and so also has St. Paul more than once; see Matt. xiii. 14. John xii. 40. Acts xxviii. 26. Rom. xi. 8. Dr. Cave^c and Dr. Parker^d, being aware of the insufficiency of this evasion, do, with no greater probability, solve the difficulty, by supposing, that *the citation in the Epistle respects not one particular prophecy, but many, concerning the stubbornness and infidelity of the Jews*. But this is evidently a conjecture to serve an hypothesis. I conclude therefore, that seeing the Gospel of John was wrote long after Christ's ascension, this Epistle could not be written by Christ, and consequently is to be judged Apocryphal by Prop. X.

ARG. 4. It is no small evidence of the spurioufness of this Epistle under the name of Christ, that *Christ is made therein to defer the curing of Abgarus, till after his ascension one of his Apostles should come and do it*; for

1.) *Christ always immediately cured those who made believing applications here to him, as Abgarus is said to do.*

2.) *It would not be much satisfaction to Abgarus to be told of a cure to be wrought in an uncertain time to come, which consequently must shock his faith which he is supposed to have; and therefore Christ would not write after this manner, when he could with one word speaking have performed the cure; and so not only established, but increased his faith. This is to*

^a Annot. in Euseb. l. i. c. 13.

^b Spicileg. Patr. tom. I. p. 322.

^c Hist. Literar. in Christo,

p. 3.

^d Demonstrat. of the Law of Nature, &c. Preface, p. 37.

make Christ act not only different from what he usually did, but contrary to the designs of his kingdom and mission, and therefore Apocryphal by Prop. VIII.

ARG. 5. *The account of our Saviour's ascension in the Epistle seems to be a further proof of its spuriousness.* It is there twice mentioned in very plain terms; but in the whole history of the Gospels we do not find above one or two, and those very obscure intimations of this event before our Saviour's resurrection. There follows therefore one or other of these absurdities hereupon, viz. either that *Abgarus was more acquainted with this doctrine than Christ's constant Apostles and companions were*, or else, that *Christ was willing he should be so*; or if not, that *he wrote to him that which he could not possibly understand*; each of which being contradictions to known fact, prove the Epistle to be Apocryphal by Prop. VIII.

C H A P. III.

Other Arguments against Abgarus's Epistle to Christ, and the whole History, viz. The Improbability of a Heathen Prince's acknowledging Christ's Divinity. A Contradiction in it. Several Improbabilities. The Article of Christ's Descent into Hell, mentioned in this History, not known till several Centuries after Christ.

THE preceding arguments seem evidently to conclude against the Epistle; the first of them indeed concludes equally against the Epistle and the whole history; and by a just consequence, whatever proves against the one, will prove against the other, the truth of both depending upon the same evidence. But it may not be amiss to add a few distinct arguments also against the genuineness of the Epistle of Abgarus to Christ, and the whole history. As

I. It is exceedingly improbable, that a *Heathen prince* should so readily acknowledge the divinity of our Saviour, as Abgarus

garus is made to do in his letter. Mr. Le Clerc's * remark on this matter seems very just, as to the Greek words *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ*—*ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ*. The article, says he, prefixed in Greek to the name God, shews, that the author meant *God the Father* (*Deus xat' ἑωχην*), which is a phraseology not likely to have proceeded from a Heathen, who would rather have omitted the article, and said *τὸς Θεός*, thou art *some* God; the other way of expressing being peculiar to those who believed in one God. Prop. VIII.

2. *There seems to me in this Epistle a contradiction so manifest, as to demonstrate its spuriousness.* In the beginning of the Epistle Abgarus is made to confess his faith in Christ as God, or as the Son of God; in the latter end he invites Christ to dwell with him in his city, because of the malice of the Jews, who intended him mischief. This, I say, is a plain contradiction; for had he really thought him God, he must certainly think him possessed of Almighty power, and consequently to be in no need of the protection of his city. This seems to me as clear demonstration, as subjects of this sort are capable of receiving; nor am I sensible of any objection that can be made, unless it be that Peter, who had confessed him to be the Son of God, Matt. xvi. 16. yet when he came to be apprehended, thought it necessary to interpose with human force to attempt his rescue, Matt. xxvi. 51. compared with John xviii. 10. To which it is easy to answer, that whatever opinion Peter, or indeed any of the Apostles, had of Christ before this time, they seem now to have changed it, and by the prospects of his danger and death to have grown cool in their opinion of his Almighty power, else they would never all have forsaken him at his crucifixion as they did. But nothing of this can be supposed in the case of Abgarus, who cannot be imagined to have altered his sentiments in the interval of writing so short an Epistle. Prop. VII.

3. Mr. Du Pin^b thinks it very improbable, that *Abgarus*

* Hist. Eccl. sec. 1. ann. 29. §. 13. where he well answers the only important objection that can be raised against the force of this

argument.

^b History of the Canon, Vol. II. c. 6. §. 1.

should at once offer half his kingdom to a person who was a stranger to him.

4. It looks not a little fabulous, that upon Thaddæus's appearing before the king, he should see somewhat extraordinary in his countenance, which none of the company else could perceive. Eusebius calls it ὄραμα μέγα, a great vision: Valefius renders it *divinum nescio quid*, some divine appearance. Prop. IX.

5. The account in the history, that Abgarus designed to make war upon the Jews for crucifying Christ, seems very unlikely; because it is plain he was prince only of a small mean city, and that at a vast distance from Judea, viz. in Arabia; and therefore could never be so extravagant as to imagine himself able to destroy so powerful a nation as the Jews then were, Prop. VIII, IX.

6. The account in the history, that Thaddæus promised Abgarus that he would preach to him and his people concerning the heads of the Christian religion, proves the whole much later than it pretends to be, because he is there made to say, that he would preach to them how Christ κατέβη εἰς τὸν ᾄδην, καὶ διόσχισε φάραγμον τὸν ἐκ αἰῶνος μὴ σχιζομένην καὶ αἰετὴν, descended into hell, and divided the partition which was never divided before. But this every one knows was a phraseology, or doctrine, not known in the Church in the Apostles' days, nor till a long time after; and though it be an article in that called *The Apostles' Creed*, yet it was not in the antient Creeds in the three first centuries; and to use Bishop Pearson's words on this article; "The first place we find it used in was in the Church of Aquileia, and the time we are sure it was used in the Creed of that Church, was less (and but little less) than 400 years after Christ. It is not to be found in the rules of faith delivered by Irenæus^a, by Origen^b, by Tertulian^c. It is not expressed in those Creeds which were made by the Councils as larger explications of the Apostles' Creed; not in the Nicene, or Constantinopolitan; not in

^a Lib. 1. c. 2.

^b Lib. de Princip. in Proem.

^c Advers. Praxeam. c. 2. De

Virgin. veland. c. 1.—De Præscript. advers. Hæres. c. 13.

“ those of Ephesus, or Chalcedon; not in those confessions
 “ made at Sardica, Antioch, Seleucia, Sirmium, &c. It is
 “ not mentioned in several confessions of faith delivered by
 “ particular persons; not in that of Eusebius Cæsariensis,
 “ presented to the Council of Nice^a; not in that of Marcel-
 “ lus, Bishop of Ancyra, delivered to Pope Julius^b; not in
 “ that of Arius and Euzoius, presented to Constantine.^c; not
 “ in that of Acacius, Bishop of Cæsarea, delivered in the sy-
 “ nod of Seleucia^d; not in that of Eustathius, Theophilus,
 “ and Sylvanus, sent to Liberius^e: there is no mention of it
 “ in the Creed of St. Basil^f; in the Creed of Epiphanius^g,
 “ Gelasius, Damasus, Macarius, &c. It is not in the Creed
 “ expounded by St. Cyril, though some have produced that
 “ Creed to prove it. It is not in the Creed expounded by
 “ St. Augustine^h; not in that otherⁱ, attributed to St. Au-
 “ gustine in another place; not in that expounded by Maxi-
 “ mus Taurinensis; nor that so often interpreted by Petrus
 “ Chrysologus; nor in that of the Church of Antioch, deli-
 “ vered by Cassianus^k; neither is it to be seen in the MS.
 “ Creeds set forth by the learned Archbishop of Armagh. It
 “ is affirmed by Ruffin, that in his time it was neither in the
 “ Roman, nor the Oriental Creeds^l.” Thus far Bishop
 Pearson. The certainty of all which may be easily perceived
 by any one, who will be at the pains to search into these an-
 cient books, or but cast his eye upon that collection which the
 present Lord Chief-Justice, Sir Peter King, has made of all
 the Creeds within the three first centuries^m. This article
 therefore, *concerning the descent of Christ into hell*, cannot be
 supposed to be one of those concerning which Thaddæus is
 said in this history to have preached at Edessa, and therefore
 the words *κατέβη εἰς τὸν ᾗδην*, i. e. *he descended into hell*, could

^a Theodoret. l. 1. c. 2.

^b Epiphani: Hæres. 72.

^c Socrat. l. 1. c. 19.

^d Ibid. l. 2. c. 40.

^e Ibid. l. 4. c. 12.

^f Tract. de Fide in Ascet.

^g In Anchorat. c. 120.

^h De Fide et Symbolo.

ⁱ De Symbolo ad Catechumenos.

^k De Incarnat. lib. 6.

^l Exposit. in Symbol. Apost.
§. 20.

^m Enquiry into the Worship,
&c. of the Primitive Church. Part
II. c. 3.

not be the language of this Apostle, but of some person long after his time ; whence it most undeniably follows, that this whole history in the Edessene archives is spurious and Apocryphal. Prop. X.

C H A P. IV.

The main Objection against the preceding Proof answered, taken from the Credit of Eusebius. A Character of that Historian. A Conjecture that this History is an Interpolation into the Works of Eusebius. Several Arguments to support this Conjecture. A Fragment concerning Christ's Picture which he sent to Abgarus, taken out of the Orthodoxographa. The Story of the Picture common among the Writers of the sixth and following Centuries. A Digression out of Monsieur Durant concerning several Pictures of Christ, made in his Lifetime.

THE most considerable, and indeed only objection that can be made against the foregoing proof, is the credit of Eusebius, who relates the story, and is so universally reputed an historian of the most accurate judgment and perfect sincerity. To which I answer, either,

1. That Eusebius was in *this matter too credulous*, and betrayed too easily into the belief of that, which, if he had more carefully examined, he would have as easily rejected. This has been a fault often charged upon this learned writer of Christian antiquities. *No one*, says Scaliger^a, *has contributed more to the Christian history, and no one is guilty of more mistakes.* And in another place^b, *If a person's learning is to be judged of by his reading, nobody can deny Eusebius the charac-*

^a Elench. Trihær. c. 29.

^b In Chronic. Euseb. p. 8. See a particular account of Eusebius and his character in Father Maimbourg's History of Arianism, in

French, tom. i. l. 1. p. 32, &c. and Valesius's Life of Eusebius, prefixed to his Ecclesiastical History.

ter of a learned man; but if he is to be esteemed learned, who has shewn judgment, together with his reading, Eusebius is not such. It is certain, notwithstanding all that can be said for him, there are too many instances in his works both of partiality and credulity, to say no worse, besides that he frequently trusts too much to his memory. I shall omit instances of this sort, being much more willing they should be observed by others, than enlarged on by me. In the main he is certainly a good historian; and though there be several mistakes in his works, yet there seems to me none more considerable than this which we are now upon, if indeed it was really his; for,

2. I offer it as a probable conjecture, that *this chapter in the works of Eusebius, containing these two Epistles, viz. the Letter of Abgarus to Christ, and his Reply, with the subsequent history of Thaddæus at Edessa, was not really written by Eusebius, but foisted into his works, and an interpolation not made till the latter end of the fourth, or perhaps the fifth century.* I am apprehensive a conjecture of this sort will seem surprising, but I hope not improbable to those, who will impartially consider the following remarks, viz.

1.) That the article of the descent of Christ into hell has been proved not only to have been *an invention after the Apostles' time, but even after the time of Eusebius.* For this I refer the reader to the proof just now brought of this matter out of Bishop Pearson and Sir Peter King; no mention at all being made of it till the latter end of the fourth century, in Ruffin's Exposition, whereas Eusebius lived in the beginning of it. It follows therefore, that unless Eusebius could speak of these things or doctrines not yet known in his time, that this history was interpolated or inserted into his works after his time. That which mightily strengthens this argument is, that neither in the Nicene Creed, which was settled and approved by Eusebius, as well as the other Bishops there; nor even in that which Eusebius himself tendered to them for their approbation, is there any the least intimation of this article *;

* See them both at large in Scultet. Medull. Patr. de Concil. Niceno, p. 405, &c.

so that it is evident, that Eusebius being ignorant of it, it was foisted into his works.

2.) That this history is an interpolation into Eusebius, seems evident by considering *the context and series of the history preceding*. In order to which I observe, that the design of the first book, of which this is the last chapter, is 'to treat concerning Christ and things relating to his time; and having in the preceding chapter just mentioned our Saviour's Apostles, he proposes to defer the consideration of them and their actions after Christ's ascension; which is accordingly the main subject of the second book. Now I say, for Eusebius here to bring in the story of Thaddæus, which was after Christ's ascension, is to contradict himself, and break in upon his own design and order of history, which he proposed; wherefore I conclude this an interpolation, and the rather, because Eusebius expressly says, in the beginning of the second book, that he had only related those things which concerned the history of our Saviour, and the choice or nomination of his Apostles, in the first book; but now, says he, I proceed to those things which happened after his ascension. But how is it possible he could have said this, if he had just before been writing concerning the acts of Thaddæus at Edeffa, which were after Christ's ascension? Nor can it be objected, that Eusebius relates the history of Thaddæus there, because it was connected with the history of the intercourse between Christ and Abgarus, seeing it is evident that the history of Christ and Abgarus was introduced on account of the history of Thaddæus, and not the history of Thaddæus on account of the history of Christ. It is therefore evident all this chapter must be an interpolation; to confirm which yet further I observe,

3. That Eusebius does, in the next book, viz. c. 1. when he is relating what happened to, and was done by, the Apostles after our Saviour's ascension, relate this history in short, but without any, so much as one, of those circumstances, by which I have above proved the history to be spurious and supposititious. Now this would have been perfectly needless, if it be supposed that he had a few lines before wrote the same history,

history, and such a repetition as I may safely challenge any one to shew in an historian of any value. It is true indeed, he is made to refer to the former place; but this was necessary to be interpolated upon the supposition of the former being so.

4. *Such interpolations have very frequently been made into the writings of the Fathers.* Mr. Daillé^a has made a large collection of instances to this purpose; I shall only mention one or two in the books of Eusebius: for instance, such I take that to be (Hist. Eccl. lib. 3. cap. 36.), where Papias is applauded as *μάλιστα λογίωτατος καὶ τῆς γραφῆς εὐδύμων*, i. e. *a person of eminent judgment and discretion, and knowledge in the Scriptures*; and yet a few pages after he says, he was *σφόδρα σμικρὸς τὸν νοῦν*, *a person of an exceeding low and mean genius*; which being a direct contradiction to the foregoing (but his just character) proves the former to be an insertion or note of some careless reader. This is confirmed, in that Ruffin did not read it in his copies, as appears by his Latin Version, which wants it; as also that it is not to be found in the best and most antient manuscript copies of Eusebius, which Valefius^b collated, viz. that which he calls *The Medicæan*; that of Cardinal Mazarine and Fuketius. In like manner in some copies of Eusebius's Chronicon he is made to say, that the *fast of Lent was instituted by Telephorus, and the observation of the Lord's Day by Pius, both Bishops of Rome*^c.

5. It was more easy for such an interpolation to be made, because it was the end of a book.

Upon the whole, that which seems clear is, that the Epistles and history are spurious, and that Eusebius in some measure too easily believed the report concerning them, though the large account of them in his first book be a plain corruption of some writer after his time, and an addition to the history, as it is certain there were many such things in succeeding ages: some of them I have above mentioned out of Procopius, Euzagrius, and Cedrenus, and shall now conclude this whole matter with a fragment which I find published by Jacob Gry-

^a Right Use of the Fathers, ch. 4.

^c Loc. cit. p. 44.

^b Annot. in Euf. ad h. l.

næus, among his Orthodoxographa, Vol. I. p. 90, 91, and a few remarks on the subject of it.

Περὶ Αὐγάρου τῶν Ἐδεσσηνῶν
Βασιλέως καὶ τῆς εἰκόνης
Χρίστου.

*Concerning Abgarus, king of
the Edessenes, and concern-
ing the image or picture of
Christ.*

Φέρεται δὲ καὶ τις ἱστορία, ὡς
ὁ Κύριος, Αὐγάριον τῆς
Ἐδεσσηνῶν πόλεως βασιλεύον-
τος, ζωγράφον ἀποστείλαντος
τὴν τῆς Κυρίου ὁμοιογραφῆσαι
εἰκόνα, μὴ δυναθέντος τὸ ζω-
γράψαι, διὰ τὴν ἀποσίμβυσαν
τῆς προσώπου λαμπρότητα, αὐ-
τὸς ἱμάτιον τῷ οἰκίῳ προσώ-
πῳ τῷ θείῳ καὶ ζωοποιῷ
ἐπιθεῖς, ἐναπεμάχματο τῷ ἱμα-
τίῳ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἀπεικόνισμα,
καὶ οὕτως ἀπέστειλε τὸ πο-
θέντι τῷ Αὐγάρῳ. Ὅτι δὲ καὶ
πλεῖστα οἱ Ἀπόστολοι ἀγγράφως
παραδεδώκασιν, γράφει Παῦ-
λος ὁ τῶν Ἑθνῶν Ἀπόστολος·
Ἄρα ὦν ἀδελφοί, ἴκηκετε καὶ
κρατεῖτε τὰς παραδόσεις ἡμῶν,
ᾧς ἐδιδάχθητε, εἴτε διὰ λόγον,
εἴτε διὰ ἐπιστολῆς ἡμῶν. Καὶ
πρὸς Κορινθίους· Ἐπαινῶ δὲ
ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι πάντα μὲν
μύνησθε· καὶ καθὼς παρέ-
δωκα ὑμῖν, τὰς παραδόσεις
κατέχετε.

There is also a certain his-
tory, that when Abgarus,
king of the city of the Ede-
senses, sent a limner to draw
the picture of our Saviour,
the limner was not able to do
it, by reason of the shining
brightness of his countenance,
but that our Saviour took a
cloth, and laying it upon his
godlike and enlivening (life-
giving) face, he wiped off his
face, and impressed on the cloth
his own picture, and then sent
it according to the desire of
Abgarus. Now that the
Apostles did deliver several
histories which are not writ-
ten, Paul the Apostle of the
Gentiles has wrote, saying
(2 Theff. ii. 5.) *Therefore, bre-
thren, stand fast, and hold the
traditions which ye have been
taught, whether by word, or
our Epistle; and in his Epistle
to the Corinthians (1 Cor. xi.
2.), I praise you, brethren,
that ye remember me in all
things, and keep the ordi-
nances (traditions) as I deli-
vered them to you.*

Joannes

Joannes Jacobus Grynæus, who has published this fragment, supposes it probable, that it *was taken out of some accounts which were among the Christians in Syria*, concerning Christ and Abgarus ^a, and calls the author *Anonymus quidam*: but though he seems not to have known it, it is taken out of a writer of the eighth century, viz. Joannes Damascenus, lib. 4. de Fide Orthodoxa, c. 17. And the history was very commonly to be met with in the writers of the sixth, seventh, and following centuries. Euagrius ^b, out of Procopius, calls this image *Θεοεικοντος*, *not made by the hands of men, but God*; and relates a surprising miracle wrought by it; viz. “That when Chosroes besieged Edeffa (of which Abgarus was king), and the besieged found all methods of relief ineffectual, they brought this picture forth, which being sprinkled with water, they sprinkled also some of it upon a vast bulwark, which the besiegers had raised against the walls, whereupon it was consumed; and though Chosroes turned a channel of water into it, the water itself burnt like oil or brimstone.” Darius Comes, in an Epistle to St. Austin ^c, relates, that when our Saviour sent his letter to Abgarus, he at the same time gave him assurance, *that his city should never be taken by any enemy*. To which Procopius adds ^d, that the people of Edeffa say, *these were the last words of Christ's letter to Abgarus, and that they were wont to fix the letter upon their gates, as a bulwark against besiegers*; although, if we may credit Joannes Xiphilinus out of Dio Cassius, *Edeffa was taken by Lucius, who was sent thither by Trajan* ^e; and Dr. Grabe ^f has proved out of the Alexandrian Chronicle, that it *was also taken by the Persians in the time of the Roman Emperor Phocas*, who was proclaimed about the year of Christ DCX. But notwithstanding this, the story of *Christ's picture wiped off his face, impressed on the cloth, and sent by him to Abgarus*, is related in the Second Council of Nice, called by the

^a Præfat. in Orthodoxogra, hæ. Vol. I.

^b H.æ. Ecclef. l. 4. c. 26.

^c Epist. 263.

^d V. d. eius verba apud Grab.

Spicileg. Patr. t. 1. p. 3 & 313.

^e Vid. Fab. Cod. Apocr. t. 3.

p. 516.

^f Lib. cit. p. 326.

Greeks *the Seventh General Synod*^a, by Gregory II.^b Adrian I. Zonaras, Constantinus Porphyrogenita, Nicephorus, and many others^c. The later writers among the Papists have wrote much upon the subject, and I shall not think it a very criminal digression to give the reader the following abstract out of their celebrated Monsieur Durant^d. *Writers, says he, of the best authority have informed us, that there were four several pictures of our Saviour made during his life on earth.*

“ The first is, *that which Christ himself sent to Abgarus, king of Edessa*, concerning which there is more full evidence, viz. Procopius cited by Euagrius (lib. 4. cap. 26.) the seventh Synod (Act 5.) which cites Euagrius, and adds these words of Leo: *I went to Edessa, and saw the venerable image of Christ there, which was not made with hands, worshipped and adored by the people*: It is mentioned by Pope Adrian I. (ad Carol. Magn. c. 18.) and Damascene (l. 4. de Orthodox. Fid. c. 17. & Orat. 1. de Imag. confirm.) Constantinus Porphyrogenita has said much of it in an oration before the emperors, clergy, and people (N. B. *There is a whole treatise of his on the subject published by Combessius in Greek and Latin, among his Origines Constantinopolitanæ, p. 75, intitled, Narratio de Imagine Christi ab ipso Salvatore ad Abgarum Edessæ regem missâ, et ab Edessâ Constantinopolin deportatâ anno DCCCCXLIV.*^e) spoken of by Nicephorus, Zonaras, &c.

“ *The second picture of Christ was stamped or impressed upon the napkin or handkerchief of Veronica*; for when Christ was led to his crucifixion, Veronica, who followed Christ, put a handkerchief to his face, on which Christ impressed his picture. This is testified by Methodius, Bishop of Tyre, Constantinus Porphyrogenita, &c.

“ *The third is that mentioned by Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. l. 7,*

^a Vid. Caranz. Summ. Concil. p. 512, &c.

^b Apud Casaub. contr. Baron. Annal. Exercit. xiii. ann. 31. n. 58.

^c Vid. Durant. de Ritib. Cathol. Eccles. l. 1. c. 5.

^d Ibid.

^e See Dr. Cave's Histor. Liter. Vol. I. p. 577.

" c. 18. which was a statue of Christ erected by the woman whom he cured of the issue of blood. The substance of the account, as it is in Eusebius, is as follows: He calls it a history worthy to be related, and says, the woman, whom our Saviour cured of the issue of blood mentioned in our Gospels, lived at Cæsarea Philippi, called by the Phœnicians *Paneas*; that her house was in his time to be seen, and several monuments of our Saviour's miracle wrought for her; for near her house there was a brazen statue of the woman fixed on a pedestal of stone, in the posture of a suppliant, with bended knees, and her hands stretched out. Opposite to it was the statue of a man made of the same metal, in a standing posture, with a decent cloak on, and stretching forth his hand to the woman. At the feet of this statue, and the very basis of the column, grew a certain unknown herb, which growing up to the hem (of the garment), or brass cloak, was a present remedy for all sorts of distempers. This statue (they say) was like to Christ. It continued, says Eusebius, till my time, and I went to that city, and saw it myself. He adds, that it is not to be thought strange, that the Heathens should do this, since he himself saw the pictures of Peter and Paul, and Christ himself in his time ^a." Thus far Eusebius. I return to Durand, who cites Sozomen and Cassiodorus, as mentioning this story; and says, they add, " that Julian the apostate took down this statue, and placed his own in the room of it ^b."

^a This story is mentioned in the second Council of Nice just now cited, Act. 4. and several of the antients. In the chronology of Malela, printed out of a manuscript in the Bodleian library at Oxford, there is a petition of this woman to Herod, setting forth her great cure, and her desire to erect this statue to the honour of Christ; Herod's permission or grant to her to do it; her erecting it, and its being afterwards translated into a Church. But there seems very little regard due to this fabulous writer, whose character see in Dr. Cave's *Hist. Lite-*

rar. Vol. I. p. 442.

^b Sozomen says farther, that when the apostate had erected his own statue in that place, a fire from heaven smote it, and took off the head and neck, and fixed it in the earth, as, says he, it continues to this day, looking black, as if it had been burnt with lightning; and though the Pagans tore in pieces the statue of Christ, the Christians collected the pieces, and placed them in the Church, where, says he, they are still kept. *Hist. Eccl.* l. 5. c. 21.

"Theophylact in Matth. ix. and Epiphanius (Sardin. Concil. 7. seu Nicæen. 2.) Nicephorus (l. 6. c. 15.) have also mentioned it, and many others." To which I would add an excellent writer of the fourth century, viz. Asterius, Bishop of Amasæa, who says, *the brasen statue, which the woman erected, continued for a long time, for the conviction of those, who durst to charge the Evangelists with falsehood; and would, says he, have continued till our time, as an evidence at once of Christ's miraculous power, and the woman's gratitude, if Maximinus, who was the Roman emperor before Constantine, and an impious idolater, had not taken it away*^a.

The next picture of Christ, which Durant mentions, is one which Nicodemus made a present of to Gamaliel, which continued for many ages among the Jews at Berytus, and was by them spit upon, smote with a reed, crucified and pierced with a spear, whence came forth blood and water, of which there is much in the tract of Athanasius, concerning the passion of the image of our Lord Jesus Christ^b.

After this the author mentions *some pictures of Christ, which they have now; particularly one at Rome not made with hands: but of this whole matter I shall think it needless to say any more, referring the reader to Chemnitius, Exam. Concil. Trident. Part IV. p. 45, &c.*

^a See this in the eloquent homily of this Bishop upon Jairus and this woman, preserved by Photius, Biblioth. Cod. CCLXXII. p. 1507.

^b This tract is undoubtedly spurious, and largely proved to be so

by our countryman Robert Coke, Censur. quorund. veter. Script. p. 93, &c. and after him by Rivet. Critic. Sacr. l. 3. c. 6. as also by Bellarmine himself, De Scriptor. Eccles. p. 100, &c.

CHAP. V.

Another Lord's Prayer, different from that in the Gospels, taken out of Mr. Selden's Commentary on Eutychius, produced in Arabick and English. This proved Spurious by several Arguments.

AFTER the Epistle under our Saviour's name to Abgarus, I judged it would not be improper to insert here a prayer ascribed to our Saviour by the Mahometans, called by them, *The Prayer of Jesus the Son of Mary*. I am not able to make any large conjecture concerning its original, because I know no more of it than that Mr. Selden, who, I believe, is the only publisher of it*, saith, *Descriptas penes me habeo singularum hebdomades dierum preces Mahumedanis formatas, quibus titulus est Preces Dierum. Atque his subjunguntur formulæ precationum binæ, altera Abrahamæ Patriarchæ tributa, altera Domino nostro Jesu Christo, velut Dominica altera; viz. "That he had certain Arabick forms of prayer by him in manuscript, which were composed by the Mahometans, and intitled, the Daily Prayers; to which there were annexed two forms of prayer, one ascribed to the Patriarch Abraham, the other to our Lord Jesus Christ, as though it were another Lord's Prayer."* For the sake of the curious in these studies, I have inserted it here in Arabick, with as just a translation as I was able to make of it.

Num. II.

A PRAYER OF CHRIST.

دعا عيسى ابن مريم

عليهم السلام كان يقول اللهم اني اصبحت لا استطيع

* See his Commentary on Eutychius's Arabick Annals of Alexandria, p. 58.

دفع ما اكراه وما املك نفع ما ارجو واصبح الاجر
 بيد غيري واصبحت مرتبتها بعلمي فلا فقير افقر مني الي
 عفوك يا كريم اللهم لا تشمت في غدوي ولا قسوبي
 صديقي ولا تجعل مصيبتني في ديني ولا تجعل الدنيا
 اكبر همي ولا مبلغ علمي ولا تسلط علي من لا يرحمني
 برحمتك يا ارحم الرحمن ۞

The Prayer of Jesus the Son of Mary.

Upon them be Peace. He said,

“ O GOD, I am not able to extirpate (or overcome) that
 “ which I abhor, nor have I attained to that good (or useful-
 “ ness) which I desired, but others, and not I, have their re-
 “ ward in their hands. But my glory abideth in my work.
 “ There is no one in more indigent (or miserable) circum-
 “ stances than I am. O most high God, grant me pardon.
 “ O God, suffer me not to be a reproach to mine enemy, nor
 “ bring upon me the contempt of my friend: and let not my
 “ piety be attended with (or occasion me) troubles. And let
 “ not this world be my main delight (or what I aim princi-
 “ pally at). And suffer not such a one to have his will (or
 “ rule) over me, who will have no mercy upon me, for thy
 “ mercy sake, O thou most merciful (who pitiest all those
 “ that need mercy).”

This is, as far as I could make it, a just translation out of the Arabick; but because I am sensible of my *ignorance* in this language, and have ventured in some places to differ from Mr. Selden's translation, I judged it proper to give the reader his also in his own words, viz.

Precatio Jesu filii Mariæ.

SUPER quibus pax sit. Dixit, *Deus, non possum depel-
 lere id quod averfor, nec adquisivi bonum illud quod spero. Et
 mercedem*

mercedem in manu habent alii præter me. Sed pignus est, seu manet in opere meo (id est, ut puto, Opera mea velut pignus manent, necdum accepi id, cujus nomine oppignerata sunt) neque est quisquam pauper me pauperior. Indulgentiam tuam, o venerande. Deus, ne opprobrio mihi sinas esse inimicum meum, nec vilipendat me amicus meus. Neque ponas afflictionem meam in religione mea. Neque fac, ut mundus sit maximum studium meum, aut fastigium scientiæ meæ. Neque præfice mihi eum, qui non miserebitur mei, pro misericordia tua, o miserantissime miserescentium.

As I suppose no one at all acquainted with Christianity can believe this prayer genuine, and composed by our blessed Saviour, so I shall not spend much time about it: it is sufficient to prove it spurious,

I. *That no one of the primitive writers of Christianity did receive, acknowledge, or so much as bear of this prayer.* If we search them throughout, from the Apostles' time downwards, I may safely affirm we shall not find the least intimation or any footsteps of any such prayer, or indeed any prayer, known under the common name of *The Lord's Prayer*, besides that which we have in St. Matthew and St. Luke's Gospel. On the other hand,

II. *It was a constantly received opinion among the antients, that our Lord left nothing in writing behind him, but what his Apostles and the Evangelists wrote.* This we find in Origen ^a, Jerome ^b, Austin ^c, &c. So that it clearly follows from Prop. IV, V, VI. that this prayer is spurious. Besides,

III. *The whole contexture of the prayer is disagreeable to, and inconsistent with, the character of our Saviour.* To instance only in one or two things: the first sentence seems to me a manifest confession of sin; and if it be not borrowed from those words of St. Paul, Rom. vii. 15, 19. *What I would, I*

^a Contr. Cels. l. 1. p. 34.

^b Comment. in Ezek. c. 44.

^c De Consens. Evang. lib. 1.

c. 7.

do not; but what I hate, that do I, &c. (which I am inclined to believe) is plainly of the same design and import with it. And accordingly one of the petitions is for *pardon of sin*, as I suppose the Arabick word عفو is best translated (vid. Castell. Lexic. Polyglott. ad Voc. who renders it *condonatio delicti*) But how inconsistent is this with the character of Christ! Had he made prayers for the pardon of his sins, how could he, as conscious of his being perfectly clear from all sin, have challenged his enemies to convince him of any one sin, as he does, John viii. 46? How could he have made that atonement and satisfaction for sin, which the first principles of Christianity suppose he did? In a word, if these be the words of Christ, and part of any prayer of his, we must suppose all those assertions of his Apostles concerning him, *that he was without sin*, such as are found 2 Cor. v. 21. Hebr. iv. 15. 1 Pet. ii. 22. 1 John iii. 5. to be all gross imposture and falsehood. I conclude therefore, by Prop. II. Cor. II. and Prop. VIII. that this prayer is spurious, and of the same sort with those Apocryphal pieces, viz. *The Gospel of the Nazarenes*, and *The Preaching of Peter and Paul*; which, as they contained like intimations as this prayer, viz. that *Christ was a sinner*, I have by the same argument proved to be Apocryphal. See above, Part II. Ch. XXV. Numb. 15. p. 277. compared with Ch. XXIX. p. 301. and Ch. XXXIII. Numb. 7. p. 352. compared with Ch. XXXIV. p. 359.

I might easily collect the same inference from the other petitions; but omitting this, I shall only observe, that the doxology or conclusion of the prayer is evidently of a sort different from any that were used either by our Saviour, or those of his time, and seems so like the conclusions of several chapters in the Alcoran, that as it appears by what is already said, that the prayer is a forgery, so it is very probable it was a forgery of the Mahometans, who, as appears from several parts of this work, forged no small number of histories and sayings of Jesus Christ. See the *Appendix* at the end of the first volume, and the *Gospel of our Saviour's Infancy* in this part.

The foregoing prayer being taken out of Mr. Selden's commentary on Eutychius, obliges me to give the reader the following

following account from the Dean of Norwich's Life of Mahomet, p. 271, 272. viz. "That these annals of Eutychius were published at Oxford in Arabick and Latin by Dr. Pocock, A. D. 1656. at the charge of Mr. Selden, and this is the meaning of these words in the title page, *Johanne Seldeno Chorago*; for he, who was the *Choragus* in the play, always was at the charges of exhibiting the scenes; and therefore, Mr. Selden having borne the expences of that chargeable edition, the most worthy and learned author acknowledged it by those words in the title page; which several having mistaken to the robbing him of the honour of his work, as if Mr. Selden had begun the translation, and Dr. Pocock had finished it, I cannot but do justice to that worthy person now with God, as to clear this matter." But notwithstanding this, the commentary, out of which I have taken this prayer, is unquestionably Mr. Selden's; and in the title page of my edition, published 1642. (viz. sixteen years before that which Dr. Prideaux speaks of) I find it thus, *Ex Arabico nunc primum typis edidit ac Versione et Commentariis auxit Joannes Seldenus*.

C H A P. VI.

St. Paul's Epistle to the Laodiceans. Owned as genuine by several learned Men. An Epistle under this Title extant in the Beginning of the second Century. Marcion's Apostolicon. The Epistle now intituled, To the Ephesians, formerly intituled, To the Laodiceans, according to Tertullian. This credited by Grotius, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Whitby, Dr. Mill. Tertullian mistaken in this Matter.

THIS Epistle under the name of St. Paul to the Laodiceans, although it be apparently compiled out of the genuine and Canonical Epistles of that Apostle, requires a place in my collection; for besides that it passes under so splendid and

and pompous a title, it has been highly esteemed by several learned men of the Church of Rome, and others: the famous Jesuits, Stapleton^a and Salmeron^b, among the rest, have contended for its genuineness and authority. The Quakers have printed a translation of it, and plead for it^c. I thought it therefore necessary to insert it here, and enquire into its original. There have been many editions of it, and Sixtus Senensis^d mentions two manuscripts; the one in the Sorbonne library at Paris, which was a very old one, and the other at Padua in Venice, in the library of Joannes a Viridario, which he transcribed and published, and from which I have taken the following copy. N. B. *The texts of Scripture, which are placed in the third column, are placed to the intent that the reader may with more ease and at one view discover the imposture and forgery of the Epistle.*

Numb. III.

S. PAULI Epistola ad Laodiceenses.

The Epistle of St. Paul to the Laodiceans.

The places in St. Paul's genuine Epistles, especially that to the Philippians, out of which this to the Laodiceans was compiled.

I.
Paulus Apostolus, non ab hominibus, neque per hominem, sed per Jesum Christum, fratribus qui estis Laodiceæ.

2. *Gratia vobis, et pax a Deo Patre*

I.
Paul an Apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, to the brethren which are at Laodicea.

2. Grace be to you, and peace

I.
Gal. i. 1. *Paul an Apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, &c.*

2. Galat. i. 3. *Grace be to you,*

^a Apud Davenant in Col. iv. 16.

^b Apud Walther. Offic. Biblic. §. 1402.

^c See Mr. Adamson Col. iv. 16.

among those called Mr. Pool's Annotations.

^d Biblioth. Sanct. lib. 2. ad voc. Paulus. p. 87, 88.

*et Domino nostro
Jesu Christo.*

from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ.

*and peace from God
the Father and our
Lord Jesus Christ.*
See the same also,
Rom. i. 7. 1 Cor.
i. 3. 2 Cor. i. 2.
Eph. i. 2. Phil. i. 2.
Col. i. 2. 1 Thess.
i. 2. 2 Thess.
i. 2.

3. Phil. i. 3. *I
thank my God upon
every remembrance
of you, for your
fellowship in the
Gospel, from the
first day until now,
&c.*

4. Galat. i. 7. *There be some that
trouble you, and
would pervert the
Gospel of Christ,
&c.*

6. Phil. i. 13. *My bonds in Christ
are manifest.*

3. *Gratias ago
Christo per omnem
orationem meam,
quod permanentes
estis et perseveran-
tes in operibus bonis,
promissionem expec-
tantes in die judi-
cii.*

4. *Neque dis-
turbent vos quorun-
dam vaniloquia in-
simulantium veri-
tatem, ut vos aver-
tant a veritate E-
vangeli, quod a me
prædicatur.*

5. *Et nunc fa-
ciet Deus, ut qui
sunt ex me, perve-
niant ad perfectum
veritatis Evange-
lii, sint deservien-
tes, et benignitatem
operum facientes,
quæ sunt salutis vi-
æ æternæ.*

6. *Et nunc pa-
lam sunt vincula
mea, quæ patior in
Christo, in quibus
letor et gaudeo.*

3. I thank Christ in every prayer of mine, that ye continue and persevere in good works, looking for that which is promised in the day of judgment.

4. Let not the vain speeches of any trouble you, who pervert the truth, that they may draw you aside from the truth of the Gospel which I have preached.

5. And now may God grant, that my converts may attain to a perfect knowledge of the truth of the Gospel, be beneficent, and doing good works which accompany salvation.

6. And now my bonds, which I suffer in Christ, are manifest, in which I rejoice and am glad.

7. *Scio enim quod hoc mihi est ad salutem perpetuam, quod factum est orationibus vestris, administrante Spiritu Sancto.*

8. *Sive per vitam, sive per mortem, est mihi vivere vita in Christo, et mori gaudium.*

9. *Et ipse Dominus noster in nobis faciet misericordiam suam, ut eandem dilectionem habeatis et sitis unanimes.*

10. *Ergo, dilectissimi, ut audistis presentiam Domini, ita sentite, et facite in timore; et erit vobis vita in æternum;*

11. *Est enim Deus, qui operatur in vobis;*

12. *Et facite sine peccato quæcunque facitis.*

13. *Et quod optimum est, dilectissimi, gaudete in Domino Jesu Christo, et cavete omnes sor-des in omni lucro.*

14. *Omnes petitiones vestræ sint palam apud Deum;*

7. For I know that this shall turn to my salvation for ever, which shall be through your prayer, and the supply of the Holy Spirit.

8. Whether I live or die; (for) to me to live shall be a life to Christ, to die will be joy.

9. And our Lord will grant us his mercy, that ye may have the same love, and be like-minded.

10. Wherefore, my beloved, as ye have heard of the coming of the Lord, so think and act in fear, and it shall be to you life eternal;

11. For it is God, who worketh in you;

12. And do all things without sin.

13. And what is best, my beloved, rejoice in the Lord Jesus Christ, and avoid all filthy lucre.

14. Let all your requests be made known to God,

7. Phil. i. 19. *For I know that this shall turn to my salvation through your prayer, and the supply of the Spirit.*

8. Phil. i. 20, 21. *Whether it be by life or death, for to me to live is Christ, to die is gain.*

9. Phil. ii. 2. *That ye be like-minded, having the same love.*

10. Phil. ii. 12. *Wherefore, my beloved, as ye have always obeyed, &c. work out your salvation with fear;*

11. Phil. ii. 13. *For it is God who worketh in you.*

12. Phil. ii. 14. *Do all things without murmuring, &c. ver. 15. that ye may be blameless.*

13. Phil. iii. 1. *Finally, my brethren, rejoice in the Lord.*

14. Phil. iv. 6. *Let your requests*

estote

estote firmi in sensu Christi.

15. *Et quæ integra, et vera, et pudica, et casta, et iusta, et amabilia sunt, facite.*

16. *Et quæ audistis et accepistis, in corde retinete, et erit vobis pax.*

17. *Salutant vos omnes sancti.*

18. *Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi cum Spiritu vestro. Amen.*

19. *Hanc facite legi Colossensibus, et eam, quæ est Colossensium, vobis.*

and be steady in the doctrine of Christ.

15. And whatsoever things are sound, and true, and of good report, and chaste, and just, and lovely, these things do.

16. Those things which ye have heard, and received, think on these things, and peace shall be with you.

17. All the saints salute you.

18. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit. Amen.

19. Cause this Epistle to be read to the Colossians, and the Epistle of the Colossians to be read among you.

be made known unto God.

15. Philip. iv. 8. *Whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, &c.*

16. Phil. iv. 9. *Those things which ye have both learned and received, and heard and seen, —do, and the God of peace shall be with you.*

17. Phil. iv. 22. *All the saints salute you.*

18. Gal. vi. 18. *The grace of our Lord Jesus be with your spirit. Amen.*

19. Col. iv. 16. *And when this Epistle is read amongst you, cause that it be read also in the Church of the Laodiceans, and that ye likewise read the Epistle from Laodicea.*

The perplexing difficulties, in which we are continually involved in our searches after truth, proceed from no cause more general than the great variety of opinions, and multiplicity of other men's sentiments, which we are obliged to meet with. Hence it inevitably happens, that subjects, in themselves easy and intelligible, become intricate and obscure; and

that which a person by his own genius and endeavour would in a short time discover, he cannot, without the utmost caution and application, if at all, come to the knowledge of. Men, who are called learned, either by *some* particular prejudices, some confusedness of ideas, and principally a certain incessant inclination to lengthen out their volumes, do as it were cast a veil over the truth, which themselves are about to establish, and leave the subject attended with more difficulties than they found it; whence I have often thought it no small advantage to a question (or to him that is to manage it) that it has escaped the busy and confounding hands and heads of critics, commentators, &c. Such an introduction forces itself from me, when I consider, that, in order to manage this plain subject, I have been obliged to read the tedious pages of so many learned men, on a matter which, had they not made them, would have had few intricacies attending it. On the *Epistle of the Laodiceans*, I find differing in some respects almost every one from the other; Erasmus^a, Sixtus Senensis^b, Bellarmin^c, Calvin^d, Beza^e, Drusius^f, Whitaker^g, Waltherus^h, Episcopiusⁱ, Pamelius^k, Lightfoot^l, Knatchbull^m, Adamsⁿ, Father Simon^o, Du Pin^p, Grotius^q, Dr. Hammond^r, Spanheim^s, Turretin^t, the present Archbishop of Canterbury^u, Dr. Cave^x, Fabritius^y, Dr. Whitby^z, Dr. Mill^a, Le Clerc^b, &c. But, as far as I can, to avoid both

^a Annot. in Col. iv. 16.
^b Bibl. Sanct. l. 2. in Paulo,
p. 88.
^c Apud Whitaker. loc. jam citand.
^d In Col. iv. 16.
^e Annot. in loc. eund.
^f Præterit. in loc. eund.
^g Controvers. de Scrip. Quæst.
1. c. 16. et Quæst. 6. c. 9.
^h Officin. Biblic. §. 1401, &c.
ⁱ Respons. ad Dilemmat. Pontif.
X. par. 4. p. 163, &c.
^k Annot. in Tertull. advers.
Marcion. l. 5. c. 17. p. 588.
^l Harmony of the New Test.
p. 137, et 153.
^m Notes on Col. iv. 16.
ⁿ Annot. on the place.

^o Critic. Histor. of New Test.
Par. I. c. 15.
^p Hist. of Can. vol. 2. c. 2.
§. 8.
^q In loc. cit. Epist. ad Coloss.
^r In loc. cit.
^s Histor. Christ. Secul. I. p. 580.
^t Instit. Theol. loc. 2. qu. 7.
^u Preliminary Discourse to his
Translation of the Apostolick Fa-
thers, ch. 9. §. 12, &c.
^x Hist. Liter. vol. 1. p. 7.
^y Cod. Apocr. Nov. Testam.
t. 2. p. 853, &c.
^z In loc.
^a Prolegom. in Nov. Testam.
§. 74, &c.
^b Histor. Eccles. p. 422, &c.

confusion

confusion and prolixity, I shall offer the reader the substance of my observations, as clearly as I am able, in the following Propositions.

1. *In the beginning of the second century there was a certain Epistle extant, intitled, The Epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans.* This is evident, because such an Epistle was received by Marcion, who lived in that time; for he was cotemporary with Polycarp^a, who conversed with the Apostles, and many others, who had seen Christ^b; and consequently he (Marcion) must live near St. Paul's time. This Marcion made use of an Epistle under the name of Paul to the Laodiceans; to confirm which I observe, that Heretick, who was a notorious corrupter of the sacred Writings, had, besides *his mutilated and interpolated Gospel*, another book, which he and his followers intitled, The Ἀποστολικὸν *Apostolicon*^c, and in which he comprehended ten only of St. Paul's Epistles out of the fourteen which are now received, and then altered and accommodated them to his own sentiments and notions. These (according to Epiphanius) were the *Epistle to the Galatians, the two to the Corinthians, to the Romans, the two to the Thessalonians, to the Colossians, to Philemon, to the Philippians*, "ἔχει δὲ καὶ τῆς πρὸς Λαοδικείας λεγομένης μίσην, i. e. *he takes in also some part of that which is called, The Epistle to the Laodiceans.* Epiphanius, who had read both Marcion's *Evangelium* and *Apostolicon* (as himself says^d), producing the instances of that Heretick's corruptions and interpolations in the Epistles which he pretended to receive, styles that *to the Laodiceans* the eleventh^e, and in the introduction to his *Scholia*, or criticism upon the *Apostolicon*^f, he enumerates the Epistles received by Marcion, and having first placed that to the Romans, Ephesians, Colossians, next reckons that *to the Laodiceans*, and then the other Epistles; where I observe, by the way, a most notorious error in

^a Iren. adv. Hæres. l. 3. c. 3.

^b Ibid.

^c Epiphan. Hæres. 42. §. 9, & 10. p. 309, & 310.

^d Αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς τῷ προειρημένῳ βιβλῳ, ἃς κίνηται μετὰ χειρὸς

λαβὼν, τό τε παρ' αὐτῶν λεγόμενον Εὐαγγέλιον, καὶ Ἀποστολικὸν καλέ-
μενον παρ' αὐτῷ ἱκανισάμενος καὶ ἀναλεξάμενος, &c. §. 10. p. 310.

^e P. 319.

^f P. 321.

our present copies of Epiphanius ; for whereas in all the places cited, nay, and even in this very place, that Father expressly says, that Marcion received only the ten forementioned Epistles of St. Paul into his *Apostolicon* ; yet here in the very next words he is made to receive all the fourteen, viz, the two Epistles to Timothy, Titus, and the Hebrews are also enumerated in his *Apostolicon*. This is a contradiction so manifest, that Epiphanius cannot possibly be supposed guilty of it, and seems only to have happened through the blunder of some careless transcriber, who, when he had wrote the first ten Epistles and *that of the Laodiceans*, added the others, as he thought, to make the catalogue of the Apostle's Epistles complete. But to return, it is evident there was in the time of Marcion, or in the beginning of the second century, an Epistle under the name of *Paul* to the Laodiceans.

I know indeed that there is in Tertullian *an account of this matter very different from this of Epiphanius*, viz. " That " Marcion and his followers called that *the Epistle to the Laodiceans*, which was *the Epistle to the Ephesians* : that epistle, says he ^a, we are assured, *by the true testimony of the Church, was sent to the Ephesians, and not to the Laodiceans* ; " though Marcion has taken upon him falsely to prefix that title " to it, pretending therein to have made some notable discovery : and in the same book elsewhere ^b. *I shall say nothing now of that other Epistle, which we have inscribed to the Ephesians, but the Hereticks entitle it to the Laodiceans.*" This, I say, is a very different account of the matter from that of Epiphanius : this supposes the Epistle to the Ephesians and Laodiceans to have been one and the same Epistle, only under different titles : the other supposes them to have been two different and distinct ones : several learned men have subscribed to the opinion of Tertullian. Grotius ^c, Dr. Hammond ^d, and Dr. Whitby ^e, believe the present *Epistle to the Ephesians*

^a Ecclesie quidem veritate epistolam istam ad Ephesios habemus emissam, non ad Laodiceanos, sed Marcion ei titulum aliquando interpolare gestiit, quasi et in isto diligentissimus explorator. Lib. v.

advers. Marcion. c. 17. in initio.

^b Ibid. c. 11. p. 570.

^c Prolegom. in Epist. ad Ephes.

^d Annot. on Col. iv. 16.

^e Annot. on the same place.

was formerly intitled *to the Laodiceans*; and Dr. Mill would persuade us *, that Paul himself directed it to the Laodiceans, and that the present title *to the Ephesians* is corrupt and false. This I shall have more occasion to examine hereafter: in the mean time shall only observe, that Epiphanius seems in this matter worthy of more credit than Tertullian, because it is certain Epiphanius saw and read the *Apostolicon* of Marcion; in which he says there were these two different Epistles; whereas it does not appear that Tertullian ever did, and therefore as it was easy for the latter to be imposed upon in this case, so it was impossible the former should.

C H A P. VII.

St. Paul wrote no Epistle to the Laodiceans. The Occasion of the Forgery taken from Col. iv. 16. Various Opinions upon that Text. The Opinion of Sir Norton Knatchbull, Le-Clerc, and the Popish Writers, viz. That the Words relate to some lost Epistle, refuted. The Opinion of Grotius, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Whitby, and Dr. Mill, viz. that the Epistle to the Laodiceans and Ephesians was the same, refuted.

II. *St. Paul did not write any Epistle to the Laodiceans; but that which gave occasion to the forgery of an Epistle under that title, was these words of Paul, Col. iv. 16. And when this Epistle is read among you, cause that it be read also in the Church of the Laodiceans, and that ye likewise read the Epistle from Laodicea.* The seeming ambiguity of the last words, καὶ τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας ἴνα καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀναγνώρετε, and that ye likewise read the *Epistle from Laodicea*, has occasioned much controversy, and requires therefore a discussion here. For some therein have understood St. Paul, as speaking of an *Epistle, written by him to the Church of Laodicea*, which he advises the Colossians to procure from thence, and read publicly

* Prolegom. in Nov. Test. §. 73, 74, &c.

in their Church, as well as to transmit the Epistle which he wrote to them, to be publicly read at Laodicea. That several of the antients thus explained τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας, is plain from Chrysostom ^a; and Theodoret ^b, who expressly writes against this exposition: *Some, says he, imagine Paul to have wrote an Epistle to the Laodiceans, and accordingly produce a certain forged Epistle* (so intitled): *but the holy Apostle does not say τὴν πρὸς Λαοδικείας, the Epistle to the Laodiceans, but τὴν ἐκ Λαοδικείας, the Epistle from the Laodiceans*; for they had wrote to him on some occasion. The old Latin Vulgate translation is thought by several to favour this interpretation, *et ea*, or (as it is in Pope Clement the Eighth, and the Louvain edition ^c) *eam quæ Laodicensium est*. Thus the Popish writers have generally understood this Version, and concluded from hence, that St. Paul means here an Epistle which he sent to the Laodiceans. It is certain, says Bellarmine ^d, from the New Testament, that *Paul's Epistle to the Laodiceans is now lost, for he mentions it Col. iv. 16*. But it is not so strange that the Popish writers should fall into this mistake, who take the corrupt translation of the Vulgate for their infallible guide; though indeed even that does not necessarily favour their interpretation, seeing we may render *eam quæ Laodicensium est, the Epistle of the Laodiceans*, meaning an Epistle written by them, as well or better than *the Epistle to the Laodiceans*. What seems more strange is, that some Protestants, who regard the original Greek above any translation, should suppose the Apostle in these words to have referred to any Epistle wrote by himself to the Church of Laodicea, which yet I observe they have, though they do not agree as to the same Epistle; for

1. *Some have thought the Apostle refers to some Epistle of his to the Laodiceans, which is now lost*. Thus Sir Norton Knatchbull; *The words mean, says he ^e, an Epistle which was written*

^a Homil. 12. in Epist. ad Coloss. apud Sim. Critic. Histor. N. T. Par. 1. c. 15. p. 137.

^b In Loc. apud eund.

^c Vid. Jamessii Bellum Papale ad loc. p. 112.

^d Apud Whitaker Controvers. de Script. I. Quæst. VI. c. 9. scil. lib. iv. de Verb. Dei, c. 4. Vid. Walther. Offic. Biblic. §. 1402.

^e Annot. in loc.

from

from the *Apostle to the Laodiceans*, which, why or how it is lost, as that other to the *Corinthians*, and another to the *Ephesians*, as also other books of Scripture, is known to God alone : for the phrase is frequent, as, τῶς τῶν ἐν τῇ Συναγωγῇ, some of the Synagogue ; οἱ ἐν πίστει, the faithful ; οἱ ἐν τῇ Στοᾷ, the Stoicks ; αἶμοι ἐν νυκτὶ χαλεποὶ, the night-winds are grievous. So Mr. Le Clerc in his French Version and Notes * τῇ ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ, " Celle qui doit venir de Laodicée ; ce qui suppose que S. Paul avoit écrit à ceux de Laodicée, & leur avoit donné " ordre de faire part de sa Lettre à ceux de Colosse ; i. e. *The words suppose that St. Paul had wrote to the Church of Laodicea, and had given them orders to communicate part of their Epistle to the Colossians.* And in another place ^b, the same author, citing these words of the Apostle's, adds, " Videtur etiam " Paulum Epistolam ad Laodicenses scripsisse, quæ interciderit, &c." i. e. *St. Paul seems (by these words) to intimate, that he had wrote an Epistle to the Laodiceans, which is now lost ; and the loss of this gave afterwards occasion of forging an Epistle under his name.* But how improbable this is, I shall shew presently.

2. Others suppose the *Apostle to have referred*, in these words, to an *Epistle written by him*, but not one that is lost, but one now extant ; viz. the *Epistle to the Ephesians*. This opinion was first started by Grotius ^c, who, to support it, changes the true reading τῇ ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ, and would have us read only τῇ Λαοδικείᾳ, i. e. not the *Epistle from Laodicea*, but the *Epistle of the Laodiceans*. The annotations of this learned critick are generally esteemed above all others by our English Divines ; and accordingly Dr. Hammond ^d, who has transcribed or translated a great part of Grotius's notes into his *Annotations on the New Testament*, Dr. Whitby ^e, who has notoriously transcribed from both, and Dr. Mill ^f, have followed him in this opinion ^g.

a In loc.

b Hist. Eccles. ad Annum LXII. §. 10. p. 422.

c In Titul. Epist. ad Ephes. & in hunc locum.

d In Coloss. iv. 16.

e In eund. loc.

f Prolegom. in Nov. Testam. §. 74, &c.

g Father Simon also is of this opinion. Crit. Hist. Nov. Test. par. 1. c. 15. p. 137.

But

But no one has said so much for it as the present Archbishop of Canterbury, in his Preliminary Discourse to his Translation of the Apostolick Fathers, Chap. IX. §. 12, 13, 14, 15. But that this opinion also is improbable, will presently appear from what follows; for,

1.) Had the Apostle intended here any Epistle wrote to Laodicea, he could not, with any tolerable propriety of speech, have expressed himself as he does; he must, as the Greek Scholiasts say, rather have wrote *επιστολὴς Λαοδικείας*, or *Λαοδικείαν*, than *ἐκ Λαοδικείας*, i. e. he would have said, *the Epistle to Laodicea*, and not *the Epistle from the Laodiceans*.

2.) Had he meant any Epistle of his writing, it cannot be thought but he would have called it his Epistle. How improbable is it, that when he was speaking of an Epistle of his own writing to Laodicea, he should stile it *that from Laodicea*, and not rather say, *My Epistle which I wrote to Laodicea*? These two arguments hold equally against both the above-mentioned opinions; but besides

It argues against the first, viz. Sir Norton Knatchbull's and Le Clerc's, that *Paul refers to some Epistle of his to Laodicea*, now lost, *that no one of the primitive Christians, besides Marcion, till the fourth century, has ever made the least mention of such Epistle*. None of the supposed Apostolical writers, as Clemens, Hermas, &c. none of the Fathers of the first, second, or third century, seem so much as to have heard of such an Epistle; the Syriack interpreter also knew nothing of it. Further, who, that has ever heard of the great zeal of the first Christians, can imagine they would, through any carelessness, lose a treasure of so much value? Laying therefore all this together, with the general proof that no Canonical book is lost, Part II. Ch. III. and the opposition that is in the construction of the Apostle's words to this interpretation, I need say no more to confute an opinion so groundless and precarious.

The other of Grotius and his followers is indeed more considerable; but against this I argue,

(1.) That the criticisms of Grotius, by which he supports it, viz. his reading *τῇ Λαοδικείας* for *τῇ ἐκ Λαοδικείας*, i. e. *the Epistle*

Epistle of the Laodiceans, for the *Epistle from the Laodiceans*, is precarious, and plainly formed to serve a turn; it being contrary to all manuscripts that were ever yet seen^a, and all the Versions, except the corrupt barbarous Vulgate, and all the citations of this place in the writings of the Fathers.

(2.) That if this reading were the true one, and Paul called it the *Epistle of the Laodiceans*, it does not follow that he meant an *Epistle of his to them*; but his words may with equal, and more propriety of speech, be construed of their writing it, than of their receiving it, and his writing it. Nor is that of any force which he urges out of the civil law, and Dr. Hammond after him, *That an Epistle is his, to whose messenger it is delivered, especially when it is received by him*; for the decrees of the law in after times can be no proper explications of, or make any alterations in, the idiom of a language. Besides, what is a more common way of speech, than to say, *That is the Epistle of such an one*, when we mean, *the person who wrote it*? But I must not omit observing, that the main strength of this opinion lies in this, urged by Grotius, Hammond, Whitby, and after them by Dr. Mill, viz. that Marcion gave the title of *The Epistle to the Laodiceans* to that which is now called *The Epistle to the Ephesians*: but neither is this of any weight; for

1.) Though Tertullian (as above) says this of Marcion, yet I observe, that in the same place he reckons this an interpolation of Marcion's, and not true, *Marcion ei titulum aliquando interpolare gestiit, viz. Marcion took upon him to give this false title to the Epistle to the Ephesians; and if he by a false act did this, how could Paul do it?* The authority they depend upon is directly against them; which I wonder these learned men did not observe. It is in vain therefore for Grotius to say; "*Cur in eâ re mentiretur, &c.*" *There was no reason for Marcion to lie or forge in this instance*; and no less vain for Dr. Mill to say, *Though Marcion was a Heretick, yet there was no heresy in this*. It is enough that it is false, and Tertullian himself calls it a forgery.

^a See Dr. Mill. Var. Lect. in loc.

2.) *It is very probable, Tertullian was mistaken in asserting this of Marcion, viz. that he changed the titles ; because, as I have above shewn, Epiphanius is more worthy of credit ; seeing he saw and wrote a criticism upon Marcion's Apostolicon, in which, he says, he reckoned the Epistle to the Ephesians, and that to the Laodiceans, as two distinct and different Epistles. There are indeed some other things urged in favour of this opinion, as that of Grotius and Dr. Whitby, ver. 9. that there is a great resemblance between the Epistle to the Colossians, and that to the Ephesians, both in the doctrines and exhortations, and in the very expressions ; so that it is not to be wondered the Apostle would have that Epistle also read to the Colossians, to let them see that he wrote the same doctrine, and gave the same instruction to other Churches, and therefore this Epistle here stiled *Ἐν Λαοδικείας*, was the same with that now intitled, *To the Ephesians* ; but if this is an argument of any force, it will prove the very contrary to their purpose ; for if the two Epistles were so exactly alike, there seems to be the less reason for his orders to the Colossians to procure it, and read it among them. The other arguments of the same sort I may perhaps elsewhere consider, but shall omit now, judging what I have said sufficient to prove, that *St. Paul wrote no Epistle to the Laodiceans, which is now lost* ; so that the *Epistle to the Ephesians did not formerly go under that denomination*.*

Having had here occasion thus to discuss these words of St. Paul, I shall only subjoin two or three more opinions concerning them, with that which seems to me most probable upon the whole.

1. Theophylact^a supposes, *Paul meant the first Epistle which he wrote to Timothy, αὐτὴ γὰρ ἐν Λαοδικείας ἠγγέλθη, because it was dated from Laodicea*. But this is not probable ;

(1.) Because the *Epistle to Timothy was written after this to the Colossians*. Of which hereafter.

(2.) Because these *subscriptions, or dates of the Canonical Epistles are of very precarious and uncertain original, not*

^a In Col. iv. 16.

being affixed to them till a considerable time after they were first written.

(2.) Dr. Lightfoot proposes a like conjecture, viz. *that if any one be not satisfied with the explication of the words as spoke of an Epistle sent by the Laodiceans to Paul, let him, says he, rather understand them of the first Epistle of John, as written by him from Laodicea, than think it was an Epistle written by Paul from Laodicea, which is lost*^a. To which I answer;

1.) That it is not certain, whence this Epistle was written.

2.) That it is probable, if Paul had meant John's Epistle, he would have mentioned John's name.

3.) Others suppose it *the same as the Epistle to Philemon, whom Paul calls his fellow-labourer, exercising his ministry in the neighbour city of Laodicea, which was sent by Onesimus, and for the sake of Onesimus, who was a Colossian, was to be read at Coloss*^b. But this is a conjecture so entirely groundless, as to deserve no answer."

That upon the whole, which seems most probable is, that Paul means *some Epistle written by the Laodiceans*, which perhaps he sent together with his own Epistle to the Colossians, as what might be useful to be read among them; and in this opinion I find several of those learned men, whom I have mentioned in the beginning of this discourse. However, it is very evident from the various interpretations of these words of St. Paul, *what it was which first gave occasion to the forgery of an Epistle under his name to the Laodiceans; and from what has been said concerning them, that St. Paul wrote no such Epistle*.

^a Harmony of the New Test. p. 137 and 153.

^b See Mr. Adam's Exposition on

the place, among those which go under the general name of Mr. Pool's English Annotations.

C H A P. VIII.

The present Epistle to the Laodiceans is not the same with the antient one under that Title in Marcion's Apostolicon. It is spurious and Apocryphal. It is composed out of St. Paul's genuine Epistles, especially that to the Philippians. Erasmus's Opinion of it. A Conjecture concerning its Original.

III. *THE present Epistle, under the name of Paul to the Laodiceans, is not the same which was in Marcion's Apostolicon, and which was seen by Epiphanius.*

1. I gather this from those words which Epiphanius produces out of that Epistle to the Laodiceans, which was in Marcion's *Apostolicon*, viz. *There is one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in all* ^a; but neither these words, nor any like them, are to be found in the present Epistle; the old one therefore, and the present one, were not the same. I must indeed own, that these words are in the Epistle to the Ephesians (iv. 5, &c.), and this Epiphanius himself observes ^b; but this cannot be any objection to the force of my argument, because that Father, who saw and read Marcion's *Apostolicon*, not only mentions these as two distinct Epistles, but expressly in the three several places cited, blames Marcion for taking this passage out of the Epistle to the Laodiceans.

2. I conclude the present one, and the antient Epistle to the Laodiceans, to be two different Epistles, because *that which we have now contains nothing in it, that is or can by any be thought erroneous, or heterodox; but the old one was, by reason of the false doctrines it contained, rejected by the primitive Church.* Thus Philastrius informs us ^c;

^a Hæc. 42. tom. i. p. 319, 374.
375.

^b Ib. p. 374.

^c Hæres. 78.

Alii autem Lucæ Evangelistæ aiunt Epistolam etiam ad Laodicenses scriptam. Et quia addiderunt in eâ quædam non bene sentientes, inde non legitur in Ecclesiâ; etsi legitur a quibusdam, non tamen in Ecclesiâ legitur populo, nisi trêdecim Epistolæ ipsius, et ad Hebræos interdum.

Others say, the Epistle to the Laodiceans was wrote by the Evangelist Luke. But because the Hereticks have inserted some (false) things, it is for that reason not read in the Church. Though it be read by some, yet there are no more than thirteen Epistles of Paul read to the people in the Church, and sometimes that to the Hebrews.

To the same purpose is the account of Jerome *.

Legunt quidam et ad Laodicenses, sed ab omnibus exploditur.

There are some who read (an Epistle under the name of Paul) to the Laodiceans; but it is rejected by all.

IV. *The Epistle under the name of Paul to the Laodiceans, is spurious and Apocryphal.* As to the antient one it is evident, because it is rejected by all the primitive Christians who have mentioned it, as appears by Philastrius and Jerome. To which add, that Epiphanius, blaming Marcion for making use of it, calls it, τῆς μὴ ὄντος ἐν Ἀποστόλῃ ^b, i. e. *an Epistle which was not wrote by the Apostle.* But my concern is with that which is now extant; and that this is spurious and Apocryphal, is evident; because

1. I have above shewn, that it was a groundless opinion that St. Paul wrote any Epistle to the Laodiceans.

2. *This Epistle is not cited in any of the primitive records of Christianity, nor known to any of the primitive Christians; not placed in their catalogue of sacred books; not read in their Churches, &c.* Apocryphal therefore by Prop. IV, V, VI.

3. That which most notoriously and demonstratively proves it Apocryphal is, that it is *for the most part transcribed or*

* Catal. Vir. Illustr. in Paulo.

^b Hæref. 42. p. 375.

stolen out of another book, or books. (Prop. XIV.) This is observed by Erasmus^a, Fabritius^b, &c. the former of whom says, it was *stole out of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Colossians*, but the latter more truly, *that it was stolen out of the Epistle of that Apostle to the Philippians*. This will be most apparently manifest by a bare casting the eye upon the Epistle itself, and those references and places of Scripture, which I have for the easier proof placed in a parallel column by the side of it.

4. Sixtus Senensis (Biblioth. Sanct. 1. 2. p. 88.) attempts to prove it spurious by an argument somewhat like the former, viz. *because, as he says, there is nothing in it but what is more largely in the Epistle to the Colossians, and therefore Paul would not command that it should be read among the Colossians*. Which indeed were a very undeniable argument, if the fact were true, and the contents of the Epistle to the Laodiceans were the same with that to the Colossians; but that the fact is not so, will be also evident by the parallel column which I have placed by the side of the Epistle above.

5. It is Apocryphal, *because it is not in the Syriack Version*. (Prop. XV.)

The acute Erasmus (on Col. iv. 16.) attempts to prove this Epistle spurious by the difference of its stile from that of St. Paul; *Nihil vereor asseverare eam, quam Stapulensis edidit, Pauli non esse. Non est cujusvis hominis Paulinum pectus effingere; tonat, fulgurat, meras flammæ loquitur Paulus: at hæc, præterquam quod brevissima est, quam jacet, quam friget! Legat qui volet Epistolam; extat enim in Jacobi Fabri Stapulensis Commentariis, nullum argumentum efficacius persuaserit eam non esse Pauli, quam ipsa Epistola*. "I am not
" afraid to assert, that the Epistle to the Laodiceans, which
" Stapulensis published, is not St. Paul's. It is not every
" scribbler that can imitate the genius and stile of Paul; Paul
" thunders, lightens, speaks forth mere flames and fire: but
" this Epistle, besides its shortness, how languid and cold is
" it! Let any one read the Epistle (it is extant in Jacobus

^a Annot. in Col. iv. 16.

^b Cod. Apocr. Nov. Testam. t. ii. p. 873, &c.

" Faber

“Faber Stapulensis’s Commentaries), and nothing will more effectually convince him, that it is not Paul’s, than the *“Epistle itself.”* This judgment of the learned Erasmus, so elegantly expressed, seems to me very far from being right; for though the Epistle be certainly spurious, yet *its stile will not prove it to be so*, because (as I have observed) it is for the most part taken out of one of St. Paul’s genuine Epistles, and consequently must needs be in his stile. It is surprising therefore, that Erasmus should make use of this argument, seeing he himself had made the same observation, though he mistook the Epistle to the Colossians for that to the Philippians; as did also Sixtus Senensis in the same matter^a. In the next words that writer proposes a conjecture concerning the author of this forgery, viz. *that it was made by the same person who corrupted the works of Jerome and the other Fathers.* I wish he had given us the reasons of his opinion, and told us who this person was. If I were to guess concerning the time of its production, I would suppose that which we have now to be *of a very late original, and the composition of some idle monk, not long before the Reformation*; although I am not ignorant that Timotheus of Constantinople, a writer of the seventh century, according to Dr. Cave^b, reckons the *Epistle to the Laodiceans* among the more antient forgeries of the Manichees^c.

^a Bibl. Sanct. l. 2. p. 88.

^c Lib. de variis Hæretic. Vid.

^b Histor. Literar. vol. 1. p. 447.

Fabr. Cod. Apocr. Nov. Test. t. i. p. 138, 139.

C H A P. IX.

Six Epistles of St. Paul to Seneca, and Eight of Seneca to Paul.

THE high opinion that several very learned writers have entertained of these Epistles, their undoubted antiquity, and their not being (as far as I know) yet translated into English, influences me to insert them here. The Jesuit Salmeron cites them to prove, that Seneca was one of Cæsar's household, referred to by Paul, Philip. iv. 22. as saluting the brethren at Philippi; and would persuade us, that these Epistles of Paul to Seneca are not unlike the Epistles which are now received into the Canon, and directed to particular persons, viz. that of St. Paul to Philemon, St. John's Second Epistle, which is *to the elect Lady*, and his Third, which is to Caius. Sixtus Senensis has published them in his Bibliothecæ, p. 89, 90; from whom I have here transcribed them.

Numb. IV. St. PAUL's EPISTLES to SENECA,
with SENECA's to PAUL.

PAULO ANNÆUS SENECA
Salutem.

Epist. I.

CREDO tibi, Paule, nunciatum quod heri cum Lucilio nostro de hypocrisi et aliis rebus habuimus. Erant enim quidam disciplinarum tuarum comites mecum; nam in hortos Sallustianos secesseramus,

for when we were retired into the Sallustian gardens, through

ANNÆUS SENECA to PAUL
Greeting.

Epist. I.

I SUPPOSE, Paul, that you have been informed of that conversation, which passed yesterday between me and my Lucilius, concerning hypocrisy and other subjects; for there were some of your Disciples in company with us; which

quo in loco occasione nostra alio tendentes hi, de quibus dixi, nobis adjuncti sunt. Certè quod tui præsentiam optamus, et hoc scias volo: libello tuo lecto, id est de plurimis literis aliquas Epistolas, quas ad aliquam civitatem seu caput provinciæ direxisti, mira exhortatione vitam moralem continentes, usque resecti sumus. Quos sensus non puto ex te dictos, sed per te, certe aliquando ex te, et per te; tanta enim majestas earum est rerum, tantaque generositate clarent, ut vix suffecturas putem ætates hominum, quibus institui perficique possint. Bene te valere, frater, cupio. Vale.

scarce sufficient to be instructed and perfected in the knowledge of them. I wish your welfare, my brother, Farewell.

PAULUS SENECAE *Salutem.*

Epist. I.

LITERAS tuas hilaris heri accepi: ad quas rescribere statim potui, si præsentiam juvenis, quem ad te missurus eram, habuissem; scis enim quando, et per quem, et quo tempore, et cui quid dari committique debeat. Rogo ergo

deliver every thing which I send.

E 2

which they were also passing, and would have gone another way, by our persuasion they joined company with us. I desire you to believe, that we much wish for your conversation: we were much delighted with your book of many Epistles, which you have wrote to some cities and chief towns of provinces, and contain wonderful instructions for moral conduct: such sentiments, as I suppose you were not the author of, but only the instrument of conveying, though sometimes both the author and the instrument; for such is the sublimeness of those doctrines, and their grandeur, that I suppose the age of a man is

PAUL to SENECA *Greeting*

Epist. I.

I RECEIVED your letter yesterday with pleasure; to which I could immediately have wrote an answer, had the young man been at home, whom I intended to have sent to you: for you know when, and by whom, at what seasons, and to whom I must deliver

therefore you would

not

ne te putes neglectum, dum personæ qualitatem inspicio : sed quod literis meis vos rectos scribis; felicem me arbitror tanti viri iudicio. Neque enim diceris censor, sophista, ac magister tanti principis, et etiam omnium, nisi quia vera dicis. Opto te diu bene valere.

not charge me with negligence, if I wait for a proper person. I reckon myself very happy in having the judgment of so valuable a person, that you are delighted with my Epistles: for you would not be esteemed a censor, a philosopher, or be the tutor of so great a prince, and a master of every thing, if you were not sincere. I wish you a lasting prosperity.

PAULO ANNÆUS SENECA
Salutem.

Epist. II.

QUÆDAM volumina ordinavi, et divisionibus suis statum eis dedi. Ea quoque legere Cæsari sum destinatus: et si modo fors prospere annuerit, eris forsitan et tu præsens: sin aliàs, reddam tibi diem, ut invicem hoc opus inspiciamus. Deceveram non prius edere ei hanc scripturam, nisi prius tecum conferrem, si modo impune hoc fieri potuisset; ut scires et te non præteriri. Vale, Paule charissime.

convinced of my affection to you. Farewell, dearest Paul.

PAULUS SENECAE *Salutem.*

Epist. II.

QUOTIESCUNQUE II.

ANNÆUS SENECA to PAUL
Greeting.

Epist. II.

I HAVE completed some volumes, and divided them into their proper parts. I am determined to read them to Cæsar, and if any favourable opportunity happens, you also shall be present, when they are read; but if that cannot be, I will appoint and give you notice of a day, when we will together read over the performance. I had determined, if I could with safety, first to have your opinion of it, before I published it to Cæsar, that you might be

PAUL to SENECA *Greeting.*

Epist. II.

AS often as I read your letters,

teras tuas audio, præsentiam
tui cogito; nec aliud existimo,
quam omni tempore te nobis-
cum esse: cum primum ita-
que venire cœperis, invicem
nos et de proximo videbimus.
Bene te valere opto.

letters, I imagine you present
with me; nor indeed do I
think any other, than that you
are always with us. As soon
therefore as you begin to
come, we shall presently see
each other. I wish you all
prosperity.

PAULO ANNÆUS SENECA
Salutem.

Epist. III.

NIMIO tuo angimur fe-
cessu: quid est vel quæ res te
remoratum faciunt? Si indig-
natio Domini, quod a ritu et
secta veteri recesseris, et alios
rursus converteris; erit pos-
tulandi locus, ut ratione fac-
tum, non levitate hoc existi-
met. Vale.

your acting thus proceeded not
from inconstancy, but judg-
ment. Farewell.

PAULUS SENECAE & LUCI-
LIO *Salutem.*

Epist. III.

DE his quibus, vel quæ
mihi scripsistis, non licet ha-
rundine et atramento eloqui:
quarum altera res notat et de-
signat aliquid, altera evidenter
ostendit; præcipue cum sciam
inter vos esse, sicut apud nos,
et in nobis, qui me intelligunt.

you, as well as me, those who will understand my meaning.

ANNÆUS SENECA to PAUL
Greeting.

Epist. III.

WE are very much con-
cerned at your too long ab-
sence from us. What is it,
or what affairs are they, which
obstruct your coming? If you
fear the anger of Cæsar, be-
cause you have abandoned
your former religion, and
made profelytes also of others,
you have this to plead, that

from inconstancy, but judg-

PAUL to SENECA and LU-
CILIUS *Greeting.*

Epist. III.

CONCERNING those
things, about which ye wrote
to me, it is not proper for me
to mention any thing in writ-
ing with pen and ink: the
one of which leaves marks,
and the other evidently de-
clares things. Especially since
I know that there are near

Deference

Honor habendus est omnibus, et tanto magis his, qui indignandi occasionem captant: quibus si patientiam ostendimus, omnimodo eos ex quacunque parte vincemus: si modo hi sunt, qui pœnitentiam sui gerant. Bene valete.

Deference is to be paid to all men, and so much the more, as they are more likely to take occasions of quarrelling. And if we shew a submissive temper, we shall overcome effectually in all points, if so be they are such, who are capable of seeing and acknowledging themselves to have been in the wrong. Farewell.

PAULO ANNÆUS SENECA
Salutem.

Epist. IV.

PROFITEOR bene me acceptum in lectione litterarum tuarum, quas Galatis, Corinthiis, et Achæis misisti. Spiritus enim Sanctus in te et supra te excelsos, sublimiores, valdeque venerabiles sensus exprimit. Vellem itaque, cum res eximias proferas, ut majestati earum cultus sermonis non desit; et ne quid tibi sic, frater, surripiam, aut conscientię meæ debeam, confiteor Augustum sensibus tuis permotum; cui, lecto litterarum tuarum exordio, hæc vox fuit; "Mirari eum posse, ut
" qui non legitime imbutus

ANNÆUS SENECA TO PAUL
Greeting.

Epist. IV.

I PROFESS myself extremely pleased with the reading your letters to the Galatians, Corinthians, and people of Achaia. For the Holy Ghost has in them by you delivered those sentiments which are very lofty, sublime, deserving of all respect, and beyond your own invention. I could wish therefore, that when you are writing things so extraordinary, there might not be wanting an elegance of speech agreeable to their majesty. And I must own, my brother, that I may not at once dishonestly conceal any thing from you, and be

unfaithful to my own conscience, that the Emperor is extremely pleased with the sentiments of your Epistles; for when he heard the beginning of them read, he declared, *That he was surprised to find such notions in a person, who had not had a regular*

"fit, taliter sentiat." Cui ego respondi; "Solere Deos ore innocentium effari, addens ei exemplum Vatiensini hominis rusticuli: cui cum duo viri apparuissent in agro Reatino, qui Castor et Pollux sunt nominati, divinitus instructus fuit." Vale.

gular education. To which I replied, That the Gods sometimes made use of mean (innocent) persons to speak by, and gave him an instance of this in a mean countryman, named Vatiensinus, who, when he was in the country of Reate, had two men appeared to him, called Castor and Pollux, and received a revelation from the gods. Farewell.

PAULUS SENECAE Salutem.

PAUL to SENECA Greeting.

Epist. IV.

Epist. IV.

LICET non ignorem Cæsarem nostrarum rerum admiratorem et amatorem esse, permittes tamen te non lædi, sed admoneri: puto enim te graviter fecisse, quod in notitiam perferre voluisti, quod ritui et disciplinæ ejus sit contrarium; cum et ille gentium deos colat. Quid tibi visum sit, ut hoc eum scire velles, non video; sed nimio amore meo facere te hoc existimo: rogo te de futuro, ne id agas; cavendum est enim, ne dum me diligis, offensam Domino facias: cujus quidem offensa

ALTHOUGH I know the Emperor is both an admirer and favourer of our (religion), yet give me leave to advise you against your suffering any injury (by shewing favour to us). I think indeed you ventured upon a very dangerous attempt, when you would declare (to the Emperor) that which is so very contrary to his religion, and way of worship; seeing he is a worshipper of the Heathen gods. I know not what you particularly had in view, when you told him of this; but I suppose you did it out of a too great respect for me.

But I desire that for the future you would not do so; for you had need be careful, lest by shewing your affection to me, you should offend your master: his anger indeed will do us no

nec oberit, si perseveraverit; neque, si non sit, proderit. Si est regina, non indignabitur: si mulier est, offendetur. Bene vale.

harm, if he continue a heathen; nor will his not being angry be of any service to us: and if the Empress act worthy of her character, she will not be angry; but if she act as a woman, she will be affronted. Farewell.

PAULO ANNÆUS SENECA
Salutem.

Epist. V.

SCIO te non tam mei causa commotum literis, quas ad te de editione Epistolarum tuarum Cæsari feci, quam natura rerum: quæ ita mentes hominum ab omnibus artibus et moribus revocat, ut non hodie admirer; quippe ut is, qui multis documentis hoc jam notissimum habeam: igitur nove agamus; tu, si quid facile in præteritum actum est, veniam irrogabis. Misi tibi librum *de verborum copia*. Vale, Paulæ charissime.

you forgive. I have sent you a book *de copia verborum*. Farewell, dearest Paul.

PAULUS SENECAE *Salutem.*

Epist. V.

QUOTIES tibi scribo, et nomen meum tibi præfero, gravem et sectæ meæ incongruam rem facio: debeo enim, ut sæpe professus sum,

ANNÆUS SENECA to PAUL
Greeting.

Epist. V.

I KNOW that my letter, wherein I acquainted you, that I had read to the Emperor your Epistles, does not so much affect you as the nature of the things (contained in them), which do so powerfully divert men's minds from their former manners and practices, that I have always been surpris'd, and have been fully convinced of it by many arguments heretofore: let us therefore begin afresh; and if any thing heretofore has been imprudently acted, do

PAUL to SENECA *Greeting.*

Epist. V.

AS often as I write to you, and place my name before yours, I do a thing both disagreeable to myself, and contrary to our religion: for I ought, as I have often declared,

cum omnibus omnia esse, et idem observare in tuam personam, quod Lex Romana honori senatus concesserit, scilicet in Epistola ultimum locum eligere, ne cum aporia et dedecore cupiam efficere quod mei arbitrii fuerit. Vale, devotissime Magister. Data quinto kal. Julii, Nerone quarto et Messala consulibus.

clared, to become all things to all men, and to have that regard to your quality, which the Roman Law has honoured all senators with; viz. to put my name last in the (inscription of the) Epistle, that I may not at length with uneasiness and shame be obliged to do that which it was always my inclination to do.

Farewell, most respected master. Dated the fifth of the calends of July, in the fourth Consulship of Nero and Messala.

PAULO ANNÆUS SENECA
Salutem.

Epist. VI.

A VE, mi Paule charissime. Si mihi, nominique meo vir tantus, et dilectus omnibus modis, non dico fueris junctus, sed necessario mixtus: apte actum erit de Seneca tuo. Cum sis igitur vertex et altissimorum omnium montium cacumen, haud te indignum in prima facie epistolarum nominandum censeas; ne tam tentare me, quam ludere videaris; quippe cum scias civem esse te Romanum. Nam qui meus, tuus apud te locus; qui tuus, velim ut

ANNÆUS SENECA TO PAUL
Greeting.

Epist. VI.

ALL happiness to you, my dearest Paul. If a person so great, and every way agreeable as you are, become not only a common, but most intimate friend to me, how happy will be the case of Seneca! You therefore, who are so eminent, and so far exalted above all, even the greatest, do not think yourself unfit to be first named in the inscription of an Epistle; lest I should suspect you intend not so much to try me, as to banter me; for you know yourself to be a Roman citizen. And I could wish to be in that circumstance or station which you are, and that you were in the same that I am.

Farewell,

meus. Vale, Paule charissime. Data x. kal. Aprilis, Apriano et Capitone consulibus:

Farewell, dearest Paul. Dated the xth of the calends of April, in the Consulship of Aprianus and Capito.

PAULO ANNÆUS SENECA
Salutem.

Epist. VII.

AVE, mi Paule charissime. Putasne me haud contristari et non luctuosum esse, quod de innocentia vestra subinde fumatur supplicium? dehinc, quod tam obnoxios vos reatui omnis populus judicet, putans a vobis effici, quod in urbe contrarium fit? sed feramus æquo animo, et utamur foro, quod fors concessit, donec invicta felicitas finem malis imponat. Tulit et priscorum ætas Macedonem Philippi filium, et Dionysium: nostra quoque Caium Cæsarem: quibus quicquid libuit, licuit. Incendium urbs Romana unde sæpe patiatur, manifeste constat: sed si effari humilitas humana potuisset, et impune his tenebris loqui liceret, jam omnes omnia viderent. Christiani et Judæi, quasi

ANNÆUS SENECA to PAUL
Greeting.

Epist. VII.

ALL happiness to you, my dearest Paul. Do you not suppose I am extremely concerned and grieved, that your innocence should bring you into sufferings? And that all the people should suppose you (Christians) so criminal, and imagine all the misfortunes that happen to the city, to be caused by you? But let us bear the charge with a patient temper, appealing (for our innocence) to the court (above), which is the only one our hard fortune will allow us to address to, till at length our misfortunes shall end in unalterable happiness. Former ages have produced (tyrants) Alexander the son of Philip, and Dionysius; ours also has produced Caius Cæsar; whose inclinations were their only laws.

As to the frequent burnings of the city of Rome, the cause is manifest; and if a person in my mean circumstances might be allowed to speak, and one might declare these dark things without danger, every one should see the whole of the matter. The

Christians

machinatores incendii, supplicio affici solent. Grassator iste, quisquis est, cui voluptas carnificina est, et mendacium velamentum, tempori suo destinatus est; et sicut optimi cujusque caput pro uno donatur capite, ita unum pro multis dabitur caput, et hic devotus pro omnibus igni cremabitur. Centum triginta duæ domus, insulæ quatuor sex diebus arserunt: septimus pausam dedit. Bene te valere opto. Data quinto kalend. Aprilis, Frigio et Basso consulibus.

(or islands) were burnt down in six days: the seventh put an end to the burning. I wish you all happiness. Dated the fifth of the calends of April, in the consulship of Frigius and Bassus.

PAULO ANNÆUS SENECA
Salutem.

Epist. VIII.

AVE, mi Paule charissime. Allegorice et ænigmatice multa a te usquequaque opera conduntur, et ideo rerum tanta vis et muneris tibi tributa, non ornamento verborum, sed cultu quodam decoranda est. Sæpius te dixisse retineo, multos, qui talia affectent, sensus corrumpere, et rerum virtutes evitare. Cæ-

style do injury to their subjects, and lose the force of the matters they

Christians and Jews are indeed commonly punished for the crime of burning the city; but that impious miscreant, who delights in murders and butcheries, and disguises his villainies with lies, is appointed to, or reserved till, his proper time; and as the life of every excellent person is now sacrificed instead of that one person (who is the author of the mischief), so this one shall be sacrificed for many, and he shall be devoted to be burnt with fire instead of all. One hundred and thirty two houses, and four whole squares

ANNÆUS SENECA to PAUL
Greeting.

Epist. VIII.

ALL happiness to you, my dearest Paul. You have wrote many volumes in an allegorical and mystical style, and therefore such mighty matters and business being committed to you, require not to be set off with any rhetorical flourishes of speech, but only with some proper elegance. I remember you often say, that many by affecting such a

terum hoc mihi concedas velim: Latinitati morem genere, honestis vocibus speciem adhibe, ut generosi muneris concessio digne a te possit expetiri: bene vale. Data v. nonas Julii, Leone et Savino consulibus.

they treat of. But in this I desire you to regard me, viz. to have respect to true Latin, and to choose just words, that so you may the better manage the noble trust, which is reposed in you. Farewell. Dated vth of the nones of July, Leo and Savinus consuls.

PAULUS SENECAE *Salutem.*

Epist. VI.

PERPENDENTI tibi ea sunt revelata, quæ paucis Divinitas concessit. Certus igitur ego in agro jam fertili semen fortissimum sero, non quidem materiam, quæ corrumpi videtur, sed verbum stabile Dei derivamentum crescentis, et manentis in æternum. Quod prudentia tua assecuta est, indeficiens fore debet: Ethnicorum Israelitarumque observationes censeo vitandas. Quæ prope modum adeptus es, regi temporali, ejusque domesticis atque fidis amicis insinuabis. Quibus etsi aspera et incaptibilis erit persuasio tua, cum plerique eorum minime flectantur insinuationibus tuis; sermo tamen Dei illis instil-

PAUL to SENECA *Greeting.*

Epist. VI.

YOUR serious consideration is requited with those discoveries, which the Divine Being has granted but to few. I am thereby assured that I sow the most strong seed in a fertile soil, not any thing material, which is subject to corruption, but the durable word of God, which shall increase and bring forth fruit to eternity. That which by your wisdom you have attained to, shall abide without decay for ever. Believe that you ought to avoid the superstitions of Jews and Gentiles. The things which you have in some measure arrived to, prudently insinuate (make known) to the Emperor, his family, and to faithful friends; and though your sentiments

will seem disagreeable, and not be comprehended by them, seeing most of them will not regard your discourses, yet the

Word

latus, novum in his hominem
pariet ad Deum hinc propere-
rantem. Vale, Seneca, cha-
rissime nobis. Data kalend.
Augusti, Leone et Savino
consulibus.

Word of God once infused
into them, will at length
make them become new men,
aspiring towards God. Fare-
well, Seneca, who art most
dear to us. Dated on the ca-
lends of August, in the con-
sullship of Leo and Savinus:

C H A P. X.

The Letters of Paul and Seneca known in the fourth Century.

No Christian Writers, except Jerome and Austin, saw them.

The Acts of Linus Spurious. The present Epistles are the same with the ancient ones. Jerome and Austin did not esteem them genuine.

1. *T*HERE were extant in the fourth century, or sooner, certain letters under the name of Paul to Seneca, and Seneca to Paul. This is evident by the testimonies of Jerome, who places Seneca, by reason of those letters, among the Ecclesiastical and holy writers of the Christian Church^a.

Lucius Annæus Seneca Cordubensis, Sotionis Stoici discipulus, et patruus Lucani Poetæ, continentissimæ vitæ fuit; quem non ponerem in *Catalogo Sanctorum*, nisi me illæ Epistolæ provocarent, quæ leguntur a plurimis, Pauli ad Senecam, et Senecæ

Lucius Annæus Seneca, born at Corduba (in Spain) a disciple of Sotio a Stoick^b, and uncle of Lucan the poet, was a person of very extraordinary temperance; whom I should not have ranked in (my) *Catalogue of Saints*, but that I was determined to

^a Catalog. Vir. illustr. in Seneca.

^b So I observe Seneca himself calls him, Epist. 108. p. 833. and

not Photinus, as Senensis read in his copy of Jerome, Bibl. Sanct. l. 2. p. 88. in voc. Paulus.

ad Paulum. In quibus, cum esset Neronis magister, et illius temporis potentissimus, optare se dicit, *ejus esse loci apud suos, cujus sit Paulus apud Christianos*. Hic ante biennium quam Petrus et Paulus coronarentur Martyrio, a Nerone interfectus est.

by Nero two years before Peter and Paul were honoured with martyrdom.

it by those *Epistles of Paul to Seneca, and Seneca to Paul, which are read by many*. In which, though he was at that time tutor to Nero, and made a very considerable figure (at Rome), he saith, *he wished to be of the same repute (or service) among those of his country, as Paul was among the Christians*. He was slain

In St. Austin's 54th Epistle; to his friend Macedonius, we read, as followeth.

Merito ait Seneca, qui temporibus Apostolorum fuit, cujus etiam quædam ad Paulum Apostolum leguntur Epistolæ, Omnes odit qui malos odit.

It was true which Seneca (who lived in the time of the Apostles, and *who wrote certain Epistles to St. Paul, which are now read*) said, He who will hate those which are wicked, must hate all men.

II. Besides the two Fathers above cited, viz. Jerome and Austin, it does not appear that any of the antient Christian writers did either see or hear of any of these Epistles. Some indeed of the Popish writers, who have credited the genuineness of these Epistles, as Sixtus Senensis^a, the Jesuit Salmero^b, and others, produce a passage out of the *Acts of Pope Linus*, who was the person mentioned by St. Paul in his second Epistle to Timothy (c. iv. ver. 21.) if we may credit the antients, and successor to St. Peter in his bishoprick at Rome. This

^a Biblioth. Sanct. l. 2. p. 89.

^b Comment. in Phil. iv. 22.

apud Coc. Censur. Script. veter. p. 10, 11.

Irenæus^a, Eusebius^b, Epiphanius^c, Jerome^d, and others, have recorded. The passage cited by Senensis and Salmero out of these Acts, or books, supposed to be written by Linus, concerning the suffering of Peter and Paul, as I find it in the former, is this; speaking of the friendship of Paul and Seneca, he adds,

Concurfus de domo Cæsaris fiebat ad eum, sed et institutor Imperatoris adeo fuit illi amicitia copulatus, videns in eo divinam scientiam, ut se a colloquio ipsius temperare vix posset, quo minus, si ore ad os illum alloqui non valeret, *frequentibus datis et acceptis Epistolis*, ipsius dulcedine et amicabili colloquio atque consilio frueretur.

ed between them, the pleasure of his free and friendly correspondence and advice.

Several of the family of Cæsar were wont to attend upon Paul. The Emperor's tutor (Seneca) had so entire a friendship for him, perceiving his divine knowledge, that he was scarce able to refrain (from breaking through all dangers^e) to enjoy his conversation. But though he was not able personally to converse with him, he *enjoyed by frequent letters which pass-*

I easily agree with Sixtus Senensis and Salmero, that the present Epistles are referred to in this passage, but can by no means think that they receive the least credit or authority thereby; because it is most notoriously evident, that these *Acts of Linus, or History of the sufferings of Peter and Paul*, published under his name, are spurious, and a late forgery, and accordingly are as such rejected by Claudius Espencæus^f, Baronius^g, Bellarmine^h, Pessevinusⁱ, Joannes Maria Bras-

^a Advers. Hæres. l. 3. c. 3. vid. et Feu-Arden. in loc.

^b Histor. Eccles. l. 3. c. 2. & 4. & l. 5. c. 6. ex Irenæo.

^c Hæres. 27. Carpocrat. §. 6.

^d Catal. Vir. illust. in Clemens.

^e He refers to the rage of the Emperor against the Christians.

^f Comment. in Philip. cap. ult.

apud Cocum Censur. p. 14.

^g Annal. tom. 1. ad Ann. 69. n. 9. & ad Ann. 80. n. 4. Apud eund. p. 15.

^h De Scriptor. Eccles. p. 48.

ⁱ Appar. in Lino apud Coc. ibid. et Cave Hist. Liter. vol. 1. in Lino, p. 17.

chalan^a, Du Pin^b, &c. among the Popish writers; by Coke^c, Rivet^d, Dr. Cave^e, Spanheim^f, &c. among the Protestants. Nor indeed is it strange they should be so universally rejected, if we consider that they are utterly unknown to all the writers of the first eleven centuries after Christ, and not mentioned by any one until Sigibertus Gemblacensis, a monk, who lived about the year of Christ MC. mentioned them in his book *de Scriptor. Ecclesiast.*^g Besides, it were easy from several evidences out of the book itself to prove it spurious. It appears, as Espenceaus^h observes, to contain *the sentiments of the Manichees*, and Peter is there introduced, as *urging the doctrines of celibacy, and not only forcing away men's concubines from them, but exhorting women, contrary to St. Paul's express advice* (1 Cor. vii. 3.), *to an undue behaviour to their husbands*; and both Baronius and Bellarmineⁱ have proved it to be full of many falsities in history and doctrine. Among other things, says Bellarmine, the Author of it tells us, *that Agrippa was governor of Rome at the time of St. Peter's suffering, and that St. Peter was slain by Agrippa's own hands, without the knowledge or consent of the Emperor Nero, who afterwards blamed the officer for putting him to death.* But it is certain, says the Cardinal, *that Agrippa was not governor of the city then, and that the putting of Peter to death was displeasing to Nero, is contrary to all the ancient Fathers.* The said Author in another place relates, that St. Peter *urged and obliged the wife of Albanus to leave her husband's bed* (upon a pretence of chastity) *contrary to her husband's intreaties and remonstrances.* But this, says Bellarmine, cannot be St. Peter's doctrine, being directly contrary to the doctrine of his fellow-apostle St. Paul, 1 Cor. vii. Upon the whole then, if these Acts of Linus be thus spurious, and a late forgery, I may venture to assert, that though this writer has mentioned the Epistles of Paul and

^a Biblioth. Patr. tom. 7. apud eisdem.

^b History of the Canon of the New Test. vol. 2. chap. 6. §. 11.

^c Censur. quorund. veterum Scriptor. p. 14, 15.

^d Critic. Sacr. lib. 1. c. 5.

^e Hist. Literar. in Lano, vol. 1.

p. 17.

^f Hist. Eccl. Secul. I. p. 381.

^g Loc. jam cit.

^h Apud Cœtum ubi supra.

ⁱ Locis jam cit.

Seneca, which we have now under consideration, yet they receive no credit or authority thereby, and have not been mentioned by any of the antient Christian writers, except Jerome, and some of them by Austin in the places above produced.

III. *The present Epistles under the name of Seneca to Paul, and Paul to Seneca, seem to be the same with those seen by Jerome.* This is (as far as I find) generally agreed by those who have considered these Epistles, and compared them with what Jerome says. So Baronius, Sixtus Senensis, Bellarmine, and Rivet in the places above-cited; and besides these Dr. Grabe^a, and Mr. Fabricius^b. The foundation of this opinion is, that the passage which Jerome mentions to have been in the Letters of Seneca to Paul is to be found now in one of those Epistles, which we have.

The passage in Jerome is ;

The passage, as it is in the present sixth Epistle of Seneca to Paul, is ;

In quibus optare se dicit ejus esse loci apud suos, cujus sit Paulus apud Christianos, i. e. *In one of his letters (to Paul) Seneca saith, He wished to be of the same repute (or service) among those of his country; as Paul was among the Christians.*

Qui meus, tuus apud te locus, qui tuus, velim ut meus, i. e. *I could wish that I were in that circumstance (or station) in which thou art, and that thou wert in the same station that I am.*

These passages are so very like, that I think it cannot with any reason be doubted, but that they prove my present observation. All that can possibly be objected, is, that *perhaps a late forger of these Epistles might, knowing this place in Jerome, take care to insert this, to prevent any suspicion of his forgery :*

^a Spicileg. Patr. tom. 1. p. 82. p. 2. p. 281.

^b Cod. Apocr. Nov. Testam.

but this is an objection so very precarious and improbable, that I suppose it will be enough to say, in answer to it, that it cannot be of any force, unless there be some *prior* proof of the forgery of these Epistles after Jerome's time, which I believe has not yet been attempted.

IV. *The Epistles of Seneca to Paul, and Paul to Seneca, do not appear to have been received as genuine and authentick by Jerome and Austin.* As to Austin, I observe, that he does nowhere mention the letters of Paul to Seneca, *but only those of Seneca to Paul.* This will be so evident by casting the eye upon the place cited, that I wonder it has not been taken notice of before; but that learned men following one another, without making due enquiry themselves, have presumed upon that as fact, which is apparently not so; see Rivet, Du Pin, Dr. Cave, Dr. Grabe, and others in the places above cited, who have carelessly asserted, that *Austin looked upon the Epistles of Paul to Seneca to be genuine*: whereas on the contrary, I affirm, that he has never once mentioned them. And here by the way I cannot but take notice of a notorious blunder in *Mr. Toland's famous Catalogue*^a; who having placed there the Epistles of Paul to Seneca, and those of Seneca to Paul, cites not only the places of Austin and Jerome above-mentioned, but another place in Austin's book *De Civit. Dei*, l. 6. c. 10. as though that Father had not only in one place but the other cited these Epistles; whereas all that he saith there is, "*Libertas—Annæo Senecæ quem nonnullis indiciis invenimus Apostolorum nostrorum claruisse temporibus.*" i. e. *I have found by some arguments that Seneca lived in the time of our Apostles.* This is all that Father says; but where is the mention of any Epistles? Where does he cite them as genuine? But I easily see how he was led into this mistake. He saw some writers had cited this place of Austin, and that Ludovicus Vives in his notes proposes it as a conjecture, that possibly Austin might know Seneca lived in the Apostles' time, by these letters; and hence he concludes that Austin

^a Amyntor. p. 31.

actually mentioned them. But such unfair practice (as I have observed in the former part) was very common with this trifling writer, the better to adorn and grace his Catalogue. But to return to my observation, it does not appear that St. Austin did cite or look upon these Epistles of Paul to Seneca as genuine, because he has never mentioned them: I add, nor is it probable that he ever saw them, or heard of them; for if he had, it is almost impossible to suppose but that he would have mentioned those of Paul to Seneca at the same time, and in the same place, where he mentions those of Seneca to Paul. But let us suppose, that when he mentions the one, he implied also the other, it does by no means appear that he cited them, as Rivet says, or acknowledged them as genuine, as both he and the authors above-mentioned conclude, concerning him and Jerome. All those Fathers say, is, that *they were read*; Jerome adds, *by many*. But does this imply, that they were read and received by them? Do not the words seem clearly to imply and intimate the contrary? Their words are plainly to this effect, *There are certain Epistles of Seneca to Paul, which are spread up and down, and read by some persons among us, but I see no reason to acknowledge them*. Had either of these Fathers known or believed these to be the genuine Epistles of St. Paul, can it be imagined they would have said no more of them? Would they not have declared their belief in this matter, and recommended them to the perusal of the churches? Would they not have cited them, or transcribed either some part or the whole of them into their works? This seems to me good presumptive evidence against the unanimous opinion of the learned, that neither of these Fathers acknowledged these Epistles as genuine. And I cannot but observe here, that though Mr. Du Pin says they seem to have owned them as genuine, yet a few lines after he seems to contradict himself, and says, *It is to be observed, that they do not declare positively that these Epistles were genuine, but only that they were commonly so reputed, and read under their names*; and he, in a note at the bottom of the page, endeavours by a very good argument to prove, that St. Austin did not believe these to be the letters of Seneca, viz. because, says he, that

Father (lib. 6. c. 11. ^a *De Civit. Dei*) says, that *Seneca has neither praised nor dispraised the Christians*; but the former of these is evidently done in these Epistles.

It may indeed be objected against my observation, that Jerome seems to have believed the genuineness of these Epistles, because it was upon the account of them that Jerome placed Seneca in his Catalogue of Christian or Ecclesiastical writers. (See the place above.) This influenced Rivet^b, Pamelius^c, and others to this opinion. But to this I answer, (1.) That Jerome did this very probably in conformity to the opinion of those who did read and look upon these Epistles as genuine; who, if he had omitted it, would for this reason have looked upon his work as imperfect. (2.) That very slender reasons would prevail upon Jerome to give any person a place among his Ecclesiastical writers. On this score we find Josephus and Philo Judæus have their places assigned them among the Christian writers in this book; the former because of his testimony concerning Jesus Christ^d; the other because of his account^e of the Therapeutæ, or Essenes in Egypt, whom Eusebius^f, and after him Jerome^g, suppose to have been Christians^h.

But to say no more, that which fully proves Jerome not to have believed the genuineness of these Epistles is, that in this same book, where he gives an account of St. Paul's life, and all his writings, he does not so much as mention the name or any thing concerning these Epistles to Seneca, which is such an omission as he cannot be supposed guilty of, if he had believed them to be genuine, and written by that Apostle.

^a The book is not cited by Du Pin, but I have put lib. 6. because I there (chap. 11.) find what he refers to; Seneca—Christianos in neutram partem commemorare ausus est, ne vel laudaret contra suæ patriæ veterem consuetudinem, vel reprehenderet contra propriam forsitan voluntatem.

^b Loc. supra cit.

^c Annot. ad Tertull. de Anima,

c. 20. p. 373.

^d Antiquit. Judaic. l. 18. c. 4.

^e De Vit. Contemplat. p. 889, &c.

^f Histor. Ecclesiastic. l. 2. c. 16, 17, 18.

^g Catal. Vir. illustr. in Marco & Philone.

^h See concerning this above, Part II. ch. xvi.

C H A P. XI.

The Epistles contain in them several Evidences of their Spuriousness. Their Stile different from the Stile of Paul and Seneca. Several Contradictions in them. Several Things trifling. Several Things false.

V. **T**HERE are several internal evidences and characters in the Epistles of Paul to Seneca, and Seneca to Paul, which demonstrate their spuriousness. For,

1. *Nothing can be more unlike than the stile of these Epistles is to the known stile of St. Paul and Seneca, in their confessedly genuine Epistles. This is easy to be observed, and cannot but be at first visible to those who are at all acquainted with those two writers. Andreas Schottus, in his Life of Seneca prefixed to the second part of his works^a, well observes, that the Epistles under his name to Paul, are no more like the excellent stile of Seneca, than the answers to them are like the divine and inspired stile of St. Paul. The stile of those (says a learned author^b) which are attributed to Seneca, is barbarous, and full of idioms that do not belong to the Latin tongue. The Epistles attributed to St. Paul have not the least tincture of the gravity of that Apostle, but are rather compliments than instructions. It would be superfluous to produce instances. I choose rather to observe, that the learned Sixtus Senensis, who believed the genuineness of these Epistles, was so sensible of the fact and the force of the objection against them, that he endeavours to evade it by a strange and groundless supposition, viz. that Seneca in these letters did designedly disguise*

^a Epistolæ ad Paulum dico, quæ non magis eximium nostri auctoris ingenium sapiunt, quam responsiones ad illas Deo plenum et diſtinctum Pauli stilum, ideoque a doctis non magis pro Senecæ germanis agnoscuntur, quam responsiones ab Ecclesiâ pro Paulinis. *I am not*

certain whether or no this Life of Seneca was wrote by Schottus, but I presume it was, because he published the edition.

^b Du Pin's History of the Canon of the New Testament, vol. 2. ch. vii. §. 4.

and alter his style; lest perhaps, if the letters should fall into a wrong person's hand, though they had the name of Seneca prefixed to them, they should not be suspected to be his. It being then, says he, dangerous and contrary to the decree of the Emperor (for a Roman) to keep up a correspondence with a Jew, or a Christian*. But every one must perceive how precarious this conjecture is; and besides, if it were allowed just, it will no way serve the purpose it is brought for, because the style of Paul is equally different; and some reason must be assigned, why he also changed and disguised his style. They are spurious therefore by Prop. XI.

2. The subscriptions of the letters are very unlike those used by the supposed authors in their genuine Epistles. Such is that of Seneca's subscribing in the first Epistle, *Bene te valere, Frater, cupio*, "I bid thee farewell, O brother," and addressing him with the same title, Epist. iv. a compellation not in use among the Heathens, but peculiar to the Christians: such is Seneca's subscription, such are St. Paul's subscriptions, *vale*, and *opto te bene valere*; and especially that Epist. v. *Vale, devotissime magister*; which is not only a very barbarous, and very late, but very unlike (as the others are) to the usual way of St. Paul's concluding his letters.

3. Several parts of these letters suppose Paul to have been at the time of writing at Rome; whereas others imply the contrary. That he was then at Rome, is implied in the first words of the first letter, in which Seneca tells Paul, that he supposed he had been told the discourse that passed the day before between him and Lucilius by some Christians who were present; as also in the first words of Paul's first Epistle, and that part of Seneca's second, where he tells him, *He would endeavour to introduce him to Cæsar; and that he would confer with him, and read over together some parts of his writings*; and in that

* Videtur autem Seneca stylum suum aliquantulum in his Epistolis obumbrasse de industria et dissimulasse, ut si forte in alienas manus Epistolæ venissent, etsi inscriptæ nomine Senecæ, potuissent nihilominus

in periculo non videri Senecæ. Periculum enim erat et contra imperatoris tunc edictum, Christiani aut Judæi familiaritate uti. Bibl. Sanct. l. 2. p. 88, 89.

part of Paul's second, *where he hopes for Seneca's company*, and in several other places. But on the other hand several parts of the letters suppose Paul not at Rome, as where Seneca (Epist. iii.) *complains of his staying so long away, and both Paul and Seneca are made to date their letters, when such and such persons were consuls*; see Paul's fifth and sixth, and Seneca's sixth, seventh, and eighth. Now, had they been both in the same city, nothing can be more unreasonable than to suppose that they would have dated thus: what need could there be to inform each other who were consuls? Paul therefore is supposed to be, and not to be at Rome at the same time, which is a manifest contradiction. They are therefore spurious by Prop. VII.

4. Besides this contradiction, *the very dating of their letters by consulships seems to be no small evidence of their spuriousness*, because it was a thing utterly unknown that any persons ever did so; nor have I ever observed one such instance in the Epistles of Seneca, Cicero, or any other writer.

5. *There are several mistakes in them as to the names and times of the consuls, which are mentioned.* This observation I find made by others, and shall think it sufficient therefore to refer the reader to them^a, and the common chronologers.

6. *The trifling contents of these Epistles seem to prove their spuriousness. They contain nothing in them, says Du Pin^b, worthy either of Seneca, or of Paul; scarce one thought of morality in the letters of Seneca, nor any thing of Christianity in those of Paul.* Besides, what can be more trifling than Paul's fifth letter, which is all taken up in a servile apology for his putting his own name before Seneca's, in the inscription of his letters, and declaring this to be contrary to Christianity; and Seneca's answer, which consists only in allowing Paul to do so? They are spurious therefore by Prop. IX.

7. *These letters contain several things which are false or contrary to known truths.* Such is that in Seneca's fourth Epistle, *that the emperor Nero was delighted and surprised at the thoughts*

^a Viz. Du Pin and Fabritius, locis cit.

^b Loc. jam cit.

and sentiments in Paul's Epistles to the Churches; and that in Paul's fourth, where he says, *that Nero was both an admirer and favourer of Christianity*. This, I say, is notoriously false, and contrary to the unanimous relations of Heathen and Christian writers, concerning Nero, and his regard to the Christians. Who knows not, who almost has not read the dreadful cruelties, and the barbarous inhumanities, he exercised against them? Who has not heard the accounts of Tacitus ^a and Suetonius ^b among the Romans; and Tertullian ^c, Eusebius ^d, Lactantius ^e, Austin ^f, and many others, among the Christian writers, concerning his horrid persecutions of the Roman Christians? Who therefore can credit these Epistles, in which both Paul and Seneca represent that Emperor as a favourer of the Christians? I conclude them therefore to be spurious by Prop. VIII. Besides,

8. *The preceding account of Nero's favour to the Christians, in Paul and Seneca's fourth Epistles, seems but very indifferently to agree with what Paul afterwards adds in that Epistle, viz. that he intreats Seneca to venture no more to say any thing of him or the Christian religion to Nero, lest he should offend him. If the Emperor did, as Seneca says, admire Paul's Epistles; and if, as Paul says, he was both an admirer and favourer of the Christians, what need this caution? What hazard could it be for Seneca to communicate more of his knowledge in Christianity to him? Add to this;*

9. *That it is very improbable that St. Paul would obstruct Seneca in his intentions of recommending Christianity to the Emperor. Is not this directly contrary to his known and con-*

^a Annal. lib. xv. c. 44. *He says, as others, that Nero having burnt the city, laid the crime unjustly to the Christians' charge, and thereupon massacred them in the most barbarous manner. Pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis contexti, laniatu canum interirent; aut crucibus affixi, aut flammandi, atque ubi defecisset dies, in usum nocturni luminis uterentur. Fortes suos ei spectaculo Nero obtulerat, et Circense ludicrum edeba-*

habitu aurigæ, permistus plebi, vel curriculo insitens, &c.

^b Afflicti suppliciis Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novæ ac maleficæ, in Neron. c. 16.

^c Apologet. c. 5. et 22.

^d Histor. Ecclesiast. lib. 2. c. 25.

^e Lib. 4. c. 21. et alibi.

^f De Civitat. Dei, lib. 18. c. 52. Vid. Lud. Viv. in loc. t. opp. 5.

stant zeal and endeavours for its propagation? Would he not rather have rejoiced in so probable an opportunity of spreading the knowledge of Christ, and by the means of one so near to, and so much in favour with, the Emperor, have procured the liberty for himself and the other Christian converts of exercising their religion freely? To imagine the contrary is to suppose the Apostle at once defective in his regards to himself and the whole body of Christians, and acting in direct contradiction to the whole of his conduct, and zealous endeavours to advance the interest of Christianity.

But besides, it has happened here, as commonly in such cases; want of memory betrays the forgery: although the author, so unlike Paul, in this place is for not discovering the Christian religion to the Emperor, yet in another Epistle, viz. the sixth of Paul, he is made to advise Seneca to *take convenient opportunities of insinuating the Christian religion, and things in favour of it, to Nero and his family*; than which nothing can be a more manifest contradiction. They are therefore Apocryphal by Prop. VII.

CHAP. XII.

A Conjecture concerning the Occasion of the Forgery of these Epistles under the Names of Paul to Seneca, and Seneca to Paul, taken from Phil. i. 13. and iv. 22. Authors who have rejected them.

IT would not be difficult to collect many other evidences of the spuriousness of these Epistles from internal evidences, or such as themselves afford: but to omit these, I shall offer to the reader what *I conjecture, and think most probable*, concerning the original of them, or the occasion and time of the forgery, in the following particulars.

1. *St. Paul, when he was at Rome, had several converts to Christianity in the Emperor's house or family.* This I gather from

from two passages in his Epistle to the Philippians; the first is that (ch. i. ver. 13.) *My bonds in Christ are manifest in all the palace*, in ὅρα τῷ αὐτοπαίῳ, i. e. in all the court of Cæsar (as our translators rightly paraphrase it in the margin^a); the word αὐτοπαίῳ properly denoting the palace or place of the Emperor's residence: the other is (chap. iv. ver. 22.) *All the saints salute you, chiefly they*, that are of Cæsar's household, i. e. the converts to Christianity, who were of Cæsar's court or family.

2. Seneca was of the court or family of this Emperor, viz. Nero. He was his tutor, and had the direction of his youth, together with Afranius Burrus. (Vid. Sueton. in Neron. cap. 7. et 35.)

3. Several of the antient writers of Christianity did esteem Seneca as almost, if not altogether a Christian. Andreas Schottus, or whoever was the author of Seneca's Life, after having given very large encomiums to his works, adds; *Quorum admiratione ducti sancti Patres, Tertullianus, Lactantius, Hieronymus, Augustinus, cum propter rerum quæ in his tractantur pondus, sententiarumque quibus explicantur gravitatem, tum etiam propter convenientiam conjunctionemque doctrinæ cum sua, pars Christianum esse, alii a religione Christiana non abhorreere censuerunt*: "which the holy Fathers Tertullian, Lactantius, Jerome, and Austin, so much admired, partly by reason of the importance of his subjects, and the seriousness of his stile, and partly by reason of the agreement of his principles with theirs, that some of them esteemed him actually as a Christian, and others thought him not much less." I know not what places in these Fathers' works this author refers to; but in Tertullian I observe^b, that he applauds Seneca for his treatise of Superstition, which he wrote against the folly of idolatry; and elsewhere^c stiles him, *Seneca, who is often ours*, viz. as Pamelius^d says, because he often agrees in his notions with the Christians. Lactantius in very many places cites him, as having solidly confuted the ridiculous superstitions of

^a Vid. Grot. et Hammond in loc.

^b Apologet. c. 12.

^c De Anima, c. 20.

^d Annot. in loc. denuo c. t.

Paganism^a. Austin for the same reasons highly commends him, and in one place adds, *that Seneca did not blame or say any thing against the Christians, because perhaps he could not do it without violence to his own conscience*^b; on which Ludovicks Vives notes, *that when Nero had burnt Rome, and barbarously punished the Christians as guilty of that crime, Seneca desired leave of the Emperor to retire into the country for a while; which he did, says he, in my opinion, because he could not bear to see the bloody and cruel massacre of the innocent Christians.*

4. *On these accounts I conjecture the occasion of forging these Epistles was first taken, viz.* When some one observed that there were some of Nero's court made Christians, and that Seneca was of this court, and generally reputed a Christian, it is not unlikely he should thence be influenced to forge a conference between Paul and Seneca, and publish these spurious letters under their names. This cannot seem strange to those who are acquainted with the nature of the ancient forgeries, and will remember that there are few persons mentioned in the New Testament, as companions of the Apostles, who have not had some spurious piece or other fathered upon them.

To confirm this conjecture, besides what is already said, I shall only observe;

1.) That in the spurious Acts under the name of *Linus*, where these Epistles are mentioned, *the text Phil. iv. 22. is also referred to;* and it is there urged to prove the genuineness of the Epistles, that Paul says, *he had converts in Caesar's family.* See the place above, Obs. II.

2.) *That several later writers have imagined, that Paul particularly had reference to Seneca, when he speaks of the saints of Caesar's household:* so Salmero the jesuit^c, and several other interpreters mentioned by Calvin^d; also Beza^e and Heinſius^f. Now though indeed the Acts of Linus be spurious, and there be no foundation for this latter opinion, yet

^a Lib. 2, 3, et 4.

^b De Civit. Dei, lib. 6. c. 10.

^c In Philipp. iv. 22. apud Coc. Censur. p. 10.

^d Annot. in eund. loc.

^e In eund. loc.

^f Exercit. sacr. in loc.

inasmuch as both antient and modern writers thus explained this text of the Apostle, my conjecture appears for that reason more probable, that some one did, from the occasion of that same interpretation, take the handle of forging these Epistles of Paul and Seneca. As to the time of their being forged, I suppose it to have been in the middle of the fourth century, because they are not mentioned by Eusebius, or any more antient writer than Jerome; and as to the author of them, I think I may by no improbable conjecture affirm him *to have been a Latin, who was not only ignorant of the Greek language, but did not so much as know that Paul wrote his genuine Epistles to the Churches in the Greek language.* What can be more evident *than this* is from Seneca's eighth Epistle to Paul? In which, after he had been speaking of the sublime subjects, which are treated of in the Apostle's Epistles, he advises him *Latinitati morem gerere*, i. e. *to have respect to true Latin*; or as we say commonly, *to write good and proper Latin.* Now this he could never have said, if he had known the Apostle wrote all his Epistles in Greek: this shews he had only read them in *some Latin translation*, and supposed them *written originally in that language*, and consequently that he was a Latin. This cannot seem strange to those who consider, how many, even now, are ignorant among the common people in what language the Scriptures were written; and that the monks and priests in former ages thought the old Vulgate Latin was the very language in which the sacred writers first wrote. The learned and witty Erasmus, in his *Encomiums of Folly*, his *Annotations on the New Testament*, and elsewhere, has furnished us with abundant proof of this. I remember one place in his *Annotations* (viz. on Act. xxii. 9.) so much to this purpose, that I cannot forbear transcribing it: "I am confident," says he, "there are now many thousands of divines, who do not so much as know in what language the Apostles wrote. If by chance they hear that Mark, Luke, Paul, Peter, and John wrote in Greek, they are perfectly astonished at it, as some incredible thing, which they never heard of. Some of them imagine, because they were Jews, that they wrote in Hebrew: others, that they published
 " their

“ their books in the common language, in which they are
“ now wrote, viz. Latin.”

I shall only add farther a list of such writers, who have agreed to reject these Epistles as spurious and supposititious; who now offer themselves to my thoughts, viz. Baronius ^a, Bellarmine ^b, Possevin ^c, A. Schottus ^d, Ludovicus Vives ^e; and Du Pin ^f, among the Popish writers: among the Protestants, Coke ^g, Rivet ^h, Michael Walther ⁱ, Dr. Cave ^k, Spanheim ^l, Mr. Eachard ^m, and Mr. Fabritius ⁿ.

C H A P. XIII.

The Gospel of the Birth of Mary, published out of Jerome's Works.

THIS Gospel, however silly and ridiculous, I judged proper to insert here for the following reasons.

1. Because there was certainly a Gospel extant under this name in the primitive ages of Christianity.
2. Because it was received by several of the antient Christian hereticks.
3. Because it passed formerly under the name of St. Matthew.
4. Because many of its relations were credited by the antient Catholick Christians in different countries.

^a Annal. tom. 1. ad Ann. 66.
ⁿ 11.

^b De Script. Eccles. p. 38, 39.

^c Appar. Sac. in Voc. Seneca.

^d Vita Senecæ, si modo istius auctor fuit Schottus.

^e Annot. in Aug. De Civit. Dei, lib. 6. c. 10.

^f Hist. of the Canon of the New Test. t. 2. c. 7. §. 4.

^g Censura Vett. quorund. Script. p. 10, 11.

^h Critic. Sac. l. 1. c. 5.

ⁱ Officin. Biblic. §. 1448, &c.

^k Hist. Liter. vol. 1. in Paulo, p. 7.

^l Hist. Christ. Sec. I. p. 580, 582.

^m Eccl. Hist. b. 2. ch. 7.

ⁿ Cod. Apocr. Nov. Testam. p. 880, &c.

5. Because

5. Because it contains the same things as the *Post-evangelion* of St. James; concerning the publication of which, and the truth of these facts here alledged, see below, Chap. XV, XVI, &c.

The only place of the antient writings, in which it is extant, is among Jerome's works; *Epist. ad Chromatium et Heliodorum*. The occasion of its being found there was the desire of Chromatius and Heliodorus, two Bishops, to Jerome, that he would translate it out of Hebrew, and give them his judgment upon it. Their Letter to him, with his Answer to them, and another Letter of his concerning this Gospel, I have published after this Gospel in the next Chapter.

Numb. V.

EVANGELIUM de NATIVITATE MARIE.

The GOSPEL of the BIRTH of MARY.

1. **B**EATA et gloriosa semper Virgo Maria, de stirpe regia, et familia David oriunda, in civitate Nazareth nata, Hierosolymis in Templo Domini nutrita fuit. Pater ejus Joachim, mater vero Anna dicebatur. Domus paterna ex Galilæa et civitate Nazareth. Maternum autem genus ex Bethlehem erat. Vita eorum simplex et recta apud Dominum, apud homines irreprehensibilis erat et pia. Nam omnem substantiam suam trifariam diviserunt, unam partem Templo et Templi servitoribus impendebant: aliam peregrinis

1. **T**HE blessed and ever glorious Virgin Mary, sprung from the royal race and family of David, was born in the city of Nazareth, and educated at Jerusalem in the Temple of the Lord. Her father's name was Joachim, and her mother's Anna. The family of her father was of Galilee and the city of Nazareth. The family of her mother was of Bethlehem. Their lives were plain and right in the sight of the Lord, pious and faultless before men. For they divided all their substance into three parts: one of which they devoted to the Temple and officers of the Temple; another they distributed among strangers, and persons

et pauperibus erogabant : tertiam suæ familiæ usibus et sibi reservabant. Ita isti Deo chari, hominibus pii, per annos circiter viginti, castum domi conjugium sine liberorum procreatione exercebant. Voverunt tamen, si forte Deus daret eis sobolem, eam se Domini servitio mancipaturos, cujus rei gratia et Templum Domini singulis per annum festis frequentare solebant.

II. Factum est autem, ut Encæniorum festivitas appropinquaret; unde cum nonnullis contribulibus suis Hierosolymam et Joachim ascendit. Ea vero tempestate Isachar ibi Pontifex erat: cumque inter cæteros concives suos etiam Joachim cum oblatione sua videret, despexit eum et munera ejus sprexit, interrogans, Cur inter fecundos infecundus ipse stare præsumeret? Dicens, munera nequaquam Deo digna posse videri, quem ipse prole indignum judicasset; Scriptura dicente, maledictum omnem esse qui non genuisset masculum in Israele. Dicebat ergo

sons in poor circumstances; and the third they reserved for themselves; and the uses of their own family. In this manner they lived for about twenty years chastely, in the favour of God, and the esteem of men, without any children. But they vowed, if God should favour them with any issue, they would devote it to the service of the Lord; on which account they went at every feast in the year to the Temple of the Lord^a.

II. And it came to pass, that when the feast of the Dedication drew near, Joachim, with some others of his tribe, went up to Jerusalem, and at that time Isachar was High-priest; who, when he saw Joachim along with the rest of his neighbours (bringing) his offering, despised both him and his offerings, and asked him, *Why he, who had no children, would presume to appear among those who had?* Adding, *that his offerings could never be acceptable to God, who was judged by him unworthy to have children;* the Scripture having said, *Cursed is every one who shall not beget a male in Israel.* He

^a 1 Sam. i. 6, 7, &c.

prius cum ab hac maledictione sobolis generatione solvendum, et sic demum in conspectu Domini cum oblationibus esse venturum. Cujus opprobrii objectu, pudore magno suffusus Joachim, ad pastores, qui cum pecudibus erant in pascuis suis, secessit. Neque enim domum repetere voluit, ne forte a contribulibus suis, qui simul aderant, et hoc a Sacerdote audierant, eodem opprobrii elogio notaretur.

III. Verum cum ibi aliquandiu esset, quadam die cum esset solus, Angelus Domini ei cum immenso lumine astitit; qui cum ad ejus visionem turbaretur, Angelus, qui ei apparuerat, timorem ejus compescuit, dicens; Noli timere, Joachim, neque in visione mea turberis; ego enim sum Angelus Domini, missus ab ipso ad te, ut annunciem tibi preces tuas esse exauditas, et eleemosynas tuas ascendisse in conspectum ejus. Videns quippe vidit pudorem tuum, et audivit sterilitatis opprobrium nec recte tibi obiectum. Peccati namque, non

further said, *that he ought first to be free from that curse by begetting some issue, and then come with his offerings into the presence of God.* But Joachim being much confounded with the shame of such reproach, retired to the shepherds who were with the cattle in their pastures; for he was not inclined to return home, lest his neighbours, who were present and heard all this from the High-priest, should publickly reproach him in the same manner.

III. But when he had been there for some time, on a certain day when he was alone, the Angel of the Lord stood by him with a prodigious light, to whom being troubled at the appearance, the Angel who had appeared to him, endeavouring to compose him, said; *Be not afraid, Joachim, nor troubled at the sight of me, for I am an Angel of the Lord sent by him to you, that I might inform you, that your prayers are heard, and your alms ascended in the sight of God*. For he hath surely seen your shame, and heard you unjustly reproached for not having children; for God is*

* A.R. x. 4.

naturæ; ultor est Deus, et ideo cum alicujus uterum claudit, ad hoc facit, ut mirabilius denuo aperiat, et non libidinis esse quod nascitur, sed divini muneris cognoscatur. Prima enim gentis vestræ Sara mater, nonne usque ad octogesium annum infœcunda fuit? et tamen in ultima senectutis ætate genuit Isaac, cui repromissa erat benedictio omnium gentium. Rachel quoque tantum Domino grata, tantumque a sancto Jacob adamata, diu sterilis fuit; et tamen Joseph genuit, non solum Dominum Ægypti, sed plurimarum gentium fame periturarum liberatorem. Quis in ducibus vel fortior Sampson, vel sanctior Samuel? Et tamen hi ambo steriles matres habuere. Si ergo ratio verbis meis tibi non persuadet credere, dilatos diu conceptus et steriles partus mirabiliores esse solere; proinde Anna uxor tua pariet tibi filiam, et vocabis nomen ejus Mariam: hæc erit, ut vovistis;

the avenger of sin, and not of nature; and so when he shuts the womb of any person, he does it for this reason, that he may in a more wonderful manner again open it, and that which is born appear to be not the product of lust, but the gift of God. For the first mother of your nation Sarah, was she not barren even till her eightieth year? And yet even in the end of her old age brought forth Isaac, in whom the promise was made of a blessing to all nations^a. Rachel also, so much in favour with God, and beloved so much by holy Jacob, continued barren for a long time, yet afterwards was the mother of Joseph, who was not only gouverneur of Egypt, but delivered many nations from perishing with hunger^b. Who among the judges was more valiant than Sampson, or more holy than Samuel? And yet both their mothers were barren^c. But if reason will not convince you of the truth of my words, that there are frequent conceptions in advanced years,

and that those who were barren have brought forth to their great surprise; therefore Anna your wife shall bring you a daughter, and you shall call her name Mary; she shall, according

^a Gen. xvi. 2, &c. and xviii. 10, &c.

^c Judg. xiii. 2. and 1 Sam. i. 6, &c.

^b Gen. xxx. 1—22. and xli. 1, &c.

ab infantia sua Domino consecrata, et Spiritu Sancto replebitur adhuc ex utero matris. Omne immundum neque manducabit neque bibet, neque inter populares forinsecus turbas, sed in Templo Domini conversatio ejus erit; ne quid de ea sinistrum vel suspicari saltem possit, vel dici. Itaque ætate procedente, sicut ipsa mirabiliter ex sterili nascetur; ita incomparabiliter Virgo generabit Altissimi filium, qui Jesus vocabitur; secundum nominis etymologiam, Salvator omnium gentium erit. Et hoc tibi eorum quæ annuncio signum erit; cum perveneris ad auream in Hierosolymis portam, habebis ibi obviam Annam uxorem tuam, quæ de tuæ regressionis tardatione modo sollicita, tunc in aspectu tuo gaudebit. His dictis Angelus discessit ab eo.

that you returned no sooner, shall then rejoice to see you. When the Angel had said this, he departed from him.

IV. Deinde apparuit Annæ uxori ejus, dicens: Ne timeas, Anna, neque phantasma esse putes quod vides. Ego enim sum Angelus ille, qui preces et eleemosynas vestras obtuli in conspectu Dei, et nunc missus

to your vow, be devoted to the Lord from her infancy, and be filled with the Holy Ghost from her mother's womb^a; she shall neither eat nor drink any thing which is unclean, nor shall her conversation be without among the common people, but in the Temple of the Lord; that so she may not fall under any slander or suspicion of what is bad. So in the process of her years, as she shall be in a miraculous manner born of one that was barren, so she shall, while yet a Virgin, in a way unparalleled, bring forth the Son of the most High God, who shall be called Jesus, and, according to the signification of his name, be the Saviour of all nations^b. And this shall be a sign to you of the things which I declare, viz. when you come to the golden gate of Jerusalem, you shall there meet your wife Anna, who being very much troubled

IV. Afterwards the Angel appeared to Anna his wife, saying; *Fear not, neither think that which you see is a Spirit^c; for I am that Angel who have offered up your prayers and alms before God, and am now sent to*

^a Luk. i. 15.

^b Matth. i. 21.

^c Matth. xiv. 26.

sum ad vos, ut annunciem vobis nascituram filiam, quæ Maria vocata, super omnes mulieres erit benedicta. Hæc a nativitate sua statim Domini gratia plena, tribus ablactationis suæ annis in domo paterna permanebit; postea servitio Domini mancipata a Templo usque ad intelligibiles annos discedet; ibi denique juveniis et orationibus nocte ac die Deo serviens ab omni immundo se abstinebit; virum nunquam cognoscet, sed sola sine exemplo, sine macula, sine corruptione, sine virili commixtione, Virgo filium, ancilla Dominum; et gratia et nomine et opere Salvatorem mundi generabit. Itaque surge, ascende Hierusalem, et cum perveneris ad portam, quæ aurea, pro eo quod deaurata est, vocatur, ibi pro signo virum tuum, pro cuius incolumitatis statu sollicita es, obvium habebis. Cum hæc igitur ita evenerint, scito quod quæ annuncio sine dubio complenda erunt.

you, that I may inform you, that a daughter will be born unto you, who shall be called Mary, and shall be blessed above all women^a. She shall be immediately upon her birth full of the grace of the Lord, and shall continue during the three years of her weaning in her father's house, afterwards being devoted to the service of the Lord, shall not depart from the Temple, till she arrives to years of discretion. In a word, she shall there serve the Lord night and day in fastings and prayers^b, shall abstain from every unclean thing, and never know any man; but being an unparalleled instance without any pollution or defilement, and a Virgin not knowing any man, shall bring forth a son, and a maid shall bring forth the Lord, who both by his grace and name and works, shall be the Saviour of the world. Arise therefore, and go up to Jerusalem, and when you shall come to that which is called The Golden Gate (because it is gilt with gold), as a sign

(of what I have told you) you shall meet your husband, for whose safety you have been so much concerned. When therefore you find these things thus accomplished, believe that all the rest which I have told you, shall also undoubtedly be accomplished.

^a Luk. i. 28.

^b Luk. ii. 37.

V. Igitur juxta Angeli præceptum, uterque de loco in quo erant promoventes, ascenderunt Hierusalem; et cum ad locum pervenissent angelico vaticinio designatum, ibi sibi invicem obviaverunt. Tunc de mutua sua visione læti, et promissæ prolis certitudine securi, debitas Domino humilium exaltatori gratias egerunt. Itaque adorato Dominodum regressi, divinum promissum certi et hilares expectabant. Concepit ergo Anna et peperit filiam, et juxta mandatum angelicum parentes vocabant ejus nomen Mariam.

VI. Cumque trium annorum circulus volveretur, et ab lactationis tempus completum esset; ad Templum Domini Virginem cum oblationibus adduxerunt. Erant autem circa Templum, juxta quindecim Graduum Psalmos, quindecim ascensionis gradus. Nam quia Templum erat in monte constitutum, altare holocausti, quod forinfecus erat, adiri nisi gradibus non valebat. In horum itaque uno beatam Virginem Mariam

V. According therefore to the command of the Angel, both of them left the places where they were, and when they came to the place specified in the Angel's prediction, they met each other. Then rejoicing at each other's vision, and being fully satisfied in the promise of a child, they gave due thanks to the Lord, who exalts the humble. After having praised the Lord, they returned home, and lived in a cheerful and assured expectation of the promise of God. —So Anna conceived, and brought forth a daughter, and, according to the Angel's command, the parents did call her name Mary.

VI. And when three years were expired, and the time of her weaning complete, they brought the Virgin to the Temple of the Lord with offerings. And there were about the Temple, according to the *fifteen Psalms of Degrees*^b, fifteen stairs to ascend. For the Temple being built in a mountain, the altar of burnt-offering, which was without, could not be come near but by stairs; the parents of the blessed Virgin and

^a Those Psalms are from the 120th to the 134th, including both.

parvulam parentes constituerunt. Cumque ipsi vestimenta, quæ in itinere habuerant, exuerent, et cultioribus ex more vestibus se et mundioribus induerent; Virgo Domini cunctos figillatim gradus sine ducentis et levantis manu ita ascendit, ut perfectæ ætati in hac duntaxat causa nihil deesse putares. Jam quippe Dominus in Virginis suæ infantia magnum quid operabatur; et quanta futura esset, hujus miraculi indicio præmonstrabat. Igitur sacrificio secundum consuetudinem legis celebrato, et voto suo perfectæ, Virginem intra septa Templi cum aliis virginibus ibidem educandis dimiserunt; ipsi verò domum regressi sunt.

their vow, left the Virgin with other virgins in the apartments of the Temple, who were to be brought up there, and they returned home.

VII. Virgo autem Domini cum ætatis processu et virtutibus proficiebat; et juxta Psalmistam, pater et mater dereliquerunt eam, Dominus vero assumpsit eam. Quotidie namque ab Angelis frequentabatur, quotidie divina visione fruebatur, quæ eam a malis omnibus custodiebat, et bonis omnibus redundare fa-

infant Mary put her upon one of these stairs; but while they were putting off their clothes, in which they had travelled, and according to custom putting on some that were more neat and clean, in the mean time the Virgin of the Lord in such a manner went up all the stairs one after another, without the help of any to lead her or lift her; that any one would have judged from hence, that she was of perfect age. Thus the Lord did in the infancy of his virgin work this extraordinary work, and evidence by this miracle how great she was like to be hereafter. But the parents having offered up their sacrifice, according to the custom of the law, and perfected

VII. But the Virgin of the Lord, as she advanced in years, increased also in perfections, and according to that of the Psalmist, *Her father and mother forsook her, but the Lord took care of her.* For she every day had the conversation of Angels, and every day received visions from God, which preserved her from all sorts of evil, and caused her to

ciebat. Itaque ad quantum decimum annum usque pervenit, ut non solum nihil de ea mali reprehensione dignum confingere possent; sed et boni omnes qui eam noverant, vitam et conversationem ejus admiratione dignam judicarent. Tunc Pontifex publice denunciabat, ut virgines quæ in Templo publice constituebantur, et hoc ætatis tempus explerent, domum reverterentur, et nuptiis secundum morem gentis et ætatis maturitatem operam darent. Cui mandato cum cæteræ prænæ paruissent, sola Virgo Domini Maria hoc se facere non posse respondit, dicens; se quidem et parentes suos Domini servitio mancipasse, et insuper se ipsam Domino virginitatem vovisse, quam nunquam viro aliquo commixtionis more cognito violare vellet. Pontifex vero in angustia constitutus animi, cum neque contra Scripturam, quæ dicit, *Vovete et reddite*, votum infringendum putaret, neque morem genti insuetum introducere au-

abound with all good things; so that when at length she arrived to her fourteenth year, as the wicked could not lay any thing to her charge worthy of reproof, so all good persons, who were acquainted with her, admired her life and conversation. At that time the High-priest made a publick order, *That all the virgins who had publick settlements in the Temple, and were come to this age, should return home, and, as they were now of a proper maturity, should, according to the custom of their country, endeavour to be married.* To which command, though all the other virgins readily yielded obedience, Mary the Virgin of the Lord alone answered, *that she could not comply with it, assigning these reasons, that both she and her parents had devoted her to the service of the Lord; and besides, that she had vowed virginity to the Lord, which vow she was resolved never to break through by lying with a man.*

The High-priest being hereby brought into a difficulty,

seeing he durst neither on the one hand dissolve the vow, and disobey the Scripture, which says, *Vow and pay*^a, nor on the other hand introduce a custom, to which the people were

^a Eccles. v. 4, 5, 6. et Psal. lxxvi. 11.

strangers,

deret, præcepit ut ad festivitatem quæ imminabat, omnes ex Hierosolymis et vicinis locis primores adessent, quorum consilio scire posset, quid de tam dubia re faciendum esset. Quod cum fieret, omnibus in commune placuit, Dominum super hac re esse consulendum. Et cunctis quidem in orationem incumbentibus, Pontifex ad consulendum Deum ex more accessit. Nec mora, cunctis audientibus de oraculo et de propitiatorii loco vox facta est, secundum Esaiæ vaticinium requirendum esse, cui Virgo illa commendari et desponsari deberet. Liquet enim Esaiam dicere, Egredietur virga de radice Jesse, et flos de radice ejus ascendet, et requiescet super eum Spiritus Domini, Spiritus Sapientiae et Intellectus, Spiritus Consilii et Fortitudinis, Spiritus Scientiae et Pietatis, et replebit eum Spiritus timoris Domini. Secundum hanc ergo prophetiam, cunctos de domo et familia David, nuptui habiles,

and the Spirit of the fear of the Lord shall fill him. Then, according to this prophecy, he appointed, that all the men of the house and family of David, who were marriageable, and

strangers, commanded, that at the approaching feast all the principal persons both of Jerusalem and the neighbouring places should meet together, that he might have their advice, how he had best proceed in so difficult a case. When they were accordingly met, they unanimously agreed to seek the Lord, and ask counsel from him on this matter ^a. And when they were all engaged in prayer, the High-priest, according to the usual way, went to consult God, and immediately there was a voice from the ark, and the mercy-seat, which all present heard, that *it must be enquired or sought out by a prophecy of Isaiah, to whom that Virgin should be given and be betrothed*; for Isaiah saith, *There shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a flower shall spring out of its root, and the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the Spirit of Wisdom and Understanding, the Spirit of Counsel and Might, the Spirit of Knowledge and Piety,*

^a Num. xxvii. 21. compared with Exod. xxviii. 30. Lev. viii. 8.

Deut. xxxiii. 8. Ezra ii. 63. Nehem. vii. 65.

non conjugatos, virgas suas allaturos ad altare prædixit; et cujuscunque post allationem virgula florem germinasset, et in ejus cacumine Spiritus Domini in specie Columbæ confedisset, ipsum esse cui Virgo commendari et desponsari deberet.

VIII. Erat autem inter cæteros Joseph, homo de domo et familia David, grandævus; cunctis vero virgas juxta ordinem deferentibus, solus ipse suam subtraxit. Unde cum nihil divinæ voci consonum apparuisset, Pontifex iterato Deum consulendum putavit; qui respondit, solum illum ex his, qui designati erant, virgam suam non attulisse, qui Virginem desponsare deberet. Proditus itaque est Joseph. Cum enim virgam suam attulisset, et in cacumine ejus columba de cælo veniens confedisset, liquido omnibus patuit ei Virginem desponsandam fore. Igitur nuptiarum jure de more celebrato, ipse quidem in Bethlehem recedit civitatem, domum suam dispositurus, et nuptiis necessaria procuraturus. Virgo autem

not married, should bring their several rods to the altar, and out of whatsoever person's rod after it was brought, a flower should bud forth, and on the top of it the Spirit of the Lord should sit in the appearance of a dove, he should be the man to whom the Virgin should be given and be betrothed.

VIII. Among the rest there was a man named Joseph, of the house and family of David, and a person very far advanced in years, who drew back his rod, when every one besides presented his. So that when nothing appeared agreeable to the heavenly voice, the High-priest judged it proper to consult God again, who answered, *That he to whom the Virgin was to be betrothed was the only person of those who were brought together, who had not brought his rod.* Joseph therefore was betrayed. For when he did bring his rod, and a dove coming from heaven pitched upon the top of it, every one plainly saw, that the Virgin was to be betrothed to him: accordingly the usual ceremonies of betrothing being over, he returns to his own city of Bethlehem, to set his house in order, and make the needful provisions for the marriage. But the Virgin of the Lord, Mary, with

Domini Maria cum aliis septem virginibus cœvis et col-lectancis, quas a sacerdote acceperat, ad domum parentum suorum in Galilæa reversa est.

IX. Istis vero diebus, primo scilicet adventus sui in Galilæam tempore, missus est ad eam Angelus Gabriel a Deo, qui ei conceptum Dominicum narraret, et conceptionis vel modum vel ordinem exponeret. Denique ingressus ad eam cubiculum quidem, ubi manebat, ingenti lumine perfudit; ipsam vero gratantissime salutans, dixit, Ave Maria, Virgo Domini gratissima, Virgo gratia plena, Dominus tecum; benedicta tu præ omnibus mulieribus, benedicta præ omnibus hætenus natis hominibus. Virgo autem, quæ jam Angelicos bene noverat vultus, et lumen cœleste insuetum non habebat, neque Angelica visione ter-rita, neque luminis magnitudine stupefacta, sed in solo ejus sermone turbata est; et cogitare cœpit, qualis ista salutatio tam insolita esse posset,

with seven other virgins of the same age, and who had been weaned at the same time, which she had received of the Priest, returned to her parents' house in Galilee.

IX. Now at this time, viz. of her first coming into Galilee, the Angel Gabriel was sent to her from God, to declare to her the conception of our Saviour, and the manner and way of her conceiving him. Accordingly going into her, he filled the chamber where she was with a prodigious light, and in a most courteous manner saluting her, he said, *Hail, Mary, Virgin of the Lord most acceptable! Oh Virgin full of grace! The Lord is with you, you are blessed above all women, blessed above all men, that have been hitherto born* *. But the Virgin, who had before been well acquainted with the countenances of Angels, and to whom such light from heaven was no uncommon thing, was neither terrified with the vision of the Angel, nor astonished at the greatness of the light, but only troubled about

the Angel's words, and began to consider what that so extraordinary a salutation should mean, what it did portend,

* Luk. i. 28.

et fluctuare coepit, quia ignorabat, quid sibi potissimum esset faciendum. Neque enim eam traducere voluit, quia justus erat, neque fornicationis suspicione infamare, quia pius. Itaque cogitavit clam dissolvere conjugium, et occulte dimittere eam. Hæc autem eo cogitante, ecce Angelus Domini ei apparuit in somnis, dicens; Joseph, fili David, noli timere, hoc est, ne velis fornicationis suspensionem in Virgine habere, vel aliquid sinistrum cogitare, neque timeas eam in uxorem ducere. Quod enim in ea natum est, et nunc animum tuum angit, non hominis, sed Spiritus Sancti est opus. Pariet enim omnium Virgo sola Dei Filium, et vocabis nomen ejus Jesum, id est Salvatorem; ipse enim salvum faciet populum suum a peccatis eorum. Igitur Joseph, secundum Angeli præceptum, Virginem uxorem duxit, nec tamen cognovit eam, sed caste procurans custodivit. Jamque nonus a conceptione instabat mensis, cum Joseph uxore cum aliis quæ necessaria erant assumpta,

uneasy and doubtful, not knowing what course it would be best to take; for being a just man, he was not willing to expose her, nor defame her by the suspicion of being a whore, since he was a pious man. He purposed therefore privately to put an end to their agreement, and as privately to send her away. But while he was meditating these things, behold the Angel of the Lord appeared to him in his sleep, and said, *Joseph, son of David, fear not, i. e. be not willing to entertain any suspicion of the Virgin's being guilty of fornication, or to think any thing amiss of her, neither be afraid to take her to wife, for that which is begotten in her, and now distresses your mind, is not the work of man, but the Holy Ghost. For she of all women is that only Virgin who shall bring forth the Son of God, and you shall call his name Jesus, i. e. Saviour, for he will save his people from their sins.* Joseph thereupon, according to the command of the Angel, married the Virgin, and did not know her, but kept her in chastity. And

now the ninth month from her conception drew near, when Joseph took his wife and what other things were necessary to

* Matt. i. 19, &c.

Bethlehem civitatem, unde ipse erat, tetendit. Factum est autem, cum essent ibi, impleti sunt dies ut pareret, et peperit filium suum primogenitum, sicut sancti Evangelistæ docuerunt, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, qui cum Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat Deus per omnia secula seculorum.

Bethlehem, the city from whence he came. And it came to pass, while they were there, the days were fulfilled for her bringing forth, and she brought forth her first-born son, as the holy Evangelists have taught, even our Lord Jesus Christ, who with Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, lives and reigns to everlasting ages.

C H A P. XIV.

The Epistle of Chromatius and Heliodorus to Jerome, relating to the Gospel of the Birth of Mary. Jerome's Answer to their Letter, containing his Sentiments concerning it. Another Epistle of Jerome's to the same Purpose.

THE following Epistles I find among Jerome's works, immediately prefixed to the Gospel of the Birth of Mary; and because they relate entirely to it, I thought it proper to insert them here. They are to be found in Jerome's works, ^a Par. II. Tract. II. Epist. XXIII. Epist. XXIV. Epist. XXV. Fol. xxxviii. and xxxix. I find the last of these Epistles in another place of Jerome's works, viz. Par. II. Tract. VI. Epist. LXXXII. Fol. cxi.

Epistola Chromatii et Heliodori Episcoporum ad Hieronymum.

The Epistle of Chromatius and Heliodorus Bishops to Jerome.

DILECTISSIMO fratri Hieronymo Presbytero Chromatius et Heliodorus Epis-

CHROMATIUS and Heliodorus to our beloved brother Jerome, a Presbyter,

^a [In Edit. Benedict. tom. 5. p. 444, 445.]

greeting

copi, salutem in Domino. Ortum Mariæ Reginæ Virginis, simul et Nativitatem atque Infantiam Domini nostri Jesu Christi in Apocryphis invenimus libris; in quibus multa contraria nostræ fidei considerantes scripta, recusanda credimus universa; ne per occasionem Christi lætitiā Antichristo tradere-
mus. Ista igitur nobis considerantibus, extiterunt viri Dei, Armenius et Virinus, qui dicerent sanctitatem tuam beatissimi Matthæi Evangelistæ manu scriptum volumen Hebraicum invenisse, in quo et Virginis Matris et Salvatoris Infantia esset scripta; et idcirco tuam charitatem per ipsum Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum expetimus, quatenus ut illud ex Hebræo Latinis auribus tradas; non tantum ad percipiendum quæ sunt Christi insignia, quantum ad Hæreticorum astutiam excludendam, qui ut doctrinam malam instituerent, bonam Christi Nativitatem suo mendacio miscuerunt; ut post dulcedinem vitæ mortis amaritudinem occultarent. Erit ergo purissimæ pietatis,

notorious falsehood, that so after the sweetness of life, they might conceal the bitterness of death. It will therefore be

greeting in the Lord. We have found in some Apocryphal books, *an account of the birth of the Virgin Queen Mary*, as also *the birth and infancy of our Lord Jesus Christ*; in which, because we observe many things contrary to our faith, we believe they ought all to be rejected; lest, by the occasion of Christ, advantage should be brought to Antichrist. When we were thinking these things, there came two men of God, Armenius and Virinus, who said your holiness had found a volume in Hebrew written with St. Matthew the Evangelist's own hand, in which was described the *infant state of the Virgin Mother, and our Saviour*. We, therefore, intreat you by your love to our Lord Jesus Christ, that you would translate it out of Hebrew into Latin, not only that we may perceive what the famous things concerning Christ are, but also especially to refute the craft of the Hereticks, who, that they may the better spread their evil doctrines, have mixed them with the genuine history of our Saviour's Nativity, by a

vel ut rogantes Fratres exaudias, vel Episcopos exigentes charitatis debitum, quod idoneum credideris, recipere facias. Vale in Domino, et ora pro nobis.

an evidence of your great piety, either that you oblige your brethren in this request, or do it as an act of kindness, which you shall believe due to (your) Bishops. *Farewell in the Lord, and pray for us.*

Beati Hieronymi ad prædictos Episcopos de eadem re responsiva.

St. Jerome's Answer to the aforesaid Bishops, concerning the same subject.

Dominis sanctis et beatissimis Chromatio et Heliodoro Episcopis, Hieronymus exiguus Christi servus in Domino salutem.

To the holy Lords and most blessed Bishops, Chromatius and Heliodorus, Jerome a mean servant of Christ, sendeth greeting in the Lord.

ARDUUM opus injungitur, cum hoc fuerit mihi a vestra beatitudine imperatum, quod nec ipse Sanctus Matthæus Apostolus et Evangelista voluit in aperto conscribi. Si enim hoc secretum non esset, Evangelio utique ipsius quod edidit, addidisset: sed fecit hunc libellum Hebraicis literis obsignatum, quem usque adeo edidit, ut ex manu ipsius liber scriptus Hebraicis literis a viris religiosissimis habeatur, qui etiam a suis prioribus per successus tempo-

IT was a difficult task which was set me, when I received your holiness's command (*to translate that*) which the Holy Apostle and Evangelist himself St Matthew would not have to be made publick. For if it was not to have been a secret, he would certainly have annexed it to his own Gospel, which he published; but he composed this little book in Hebrew letters, which he so published, that most pious persons, who have received it from the preceding ages, do

judge it was written by him in Hebrew characters, but have never

rum susceperunt, hunc autem ipsum librum nunquam alicui transferendum tradiderunt, textum ejus aliter atque aliter narraverunt. Sed factum est, ut a Manichæi discipulo nomine Seleuco, qui etiam *Apostolorum gesta* falso sermone conscripsit, hic liber editus, non ædificationi sed destructioni materiam exhibuerit; et quod talis probaretur in Synodo, cui merito aures Ecclesiæ non paterent. Cessent nunc oblatrantium morsus; non istum libellum Canonicis superaddimus Scripturis, sed ad detegendam hæreseos fallaciam, Apostoli atque Evangelistæ scripta transferimus; in quo opere non tam piis jubentibus Episcopis obtemperamus, quam impiis Hæreticis obviamus. Amor igitur est Christi cui satisfacimus, credentes quod nos suis orationibus adjuvent, qui ad *Servatoris nostri infantiam* sanctam per nostram potuerint obedientiam pervenire.

never taken care to have it translated by any one, but delivered very different accounts of its design and contents. But the truth is, that this book was published by a certain disciple of the Manichees, named Seleucus, (who also composed a *spurious history of the Acts of the Apostles*), and it rather tends to the ruin than the interest of religion, and was judged to be such in a certain Synod, as the Church should justly disregard. Let not therefore any one reproach or censure (my translation). For I am not about to make any addition of a book to the Canonical Scriptures, but, by translating the (pretended) writings of an Apostle and Evangelist, to lay open the tricks of the Hereticks. So that in this work I do not so much obey the holy Bishops' command, as oppose the impious Hereticks. It is therefore the love of Christ by which I am influenced, hoping I shall receive the benefit of their prayers, who by means of my labour arrive to the knowledge of *the holy infancy of our Saviour*.

Besides the two preceding Epistles relating to this Gospel, there follows in Jerome's works another ascribed to him, which is a sort of preface or introduction to his translation of it, and is as follows:

Petitis

Petitis a me, ut vobis rescribam, quid mihi de quodam libello videatur, qui de Nativitate S. Mariæ a nonnullis habetur; et ideo scire vos volo multa in eo falsa inveniri. Quidam namque Seleucus, qui *Passiones Apostolorum* conscripsit, hunc libellum composuit. Et sicut de virtutibus eorum et miraculis per eos factis vera dixit, de doctrina vero eorum plura mentitus est; ita et hic multa non vera de corde suo confinxit. Proinde ut in Hebræo habetur, verbum ex verbo transferre curabo; siquidem sanctum Evangelistam Matthæum eundem libellum liquet composuisse, et in capite Evangelii sui Hebraicis literis obsignatum apposuisse; quod an verum sit, Auctori Præfationis et fidei scriptoris committo: ipse enim ut hæc dubia esse pronuncio, ita liquido falsa non affirmo. Illud autem libere dico, quod fidelium neminem negaturum puto, si hæc vera sint, si ab aliquo conficta, sacrosancta Sanctæ Mariæ magna miracula præcessisse, maxima consecuta fu-

You desire that I would write to you my sentiments concerning that little book which some have concerning the *Nativity of St. Mary*; in which I assure you there are many false accounts. For a certain person named Seleucus, who wrote the history of the *Apostles' Sufferings*, was also the author of this *small tract*. And as (in that) he has related many true things concerning the mighty works and miracles done by them; but at the same time gave very false accounts of their doctrine; so in this he has forged many false accounts out of his own imagination. However I will endeavour to translate it word for word, as it is in the Hebrew, because it is pretended that this same book was composed by the holy Evangelist Matthew, and placed, written in Hebrew characters, at the beginning of his Gospel; but as to the truth of this, I leave it to the author of the preface, and the credit of the writer; for as I declare these things to be uncertain, so I will not positively affirm them

to be false. But this I am not afraid to assert, which I suppose no Christian will deny, viz. that, whether these things be true or false, there were great miracles both preceding and

isse; et idcirco salva fide ab his qui Deum ista facere posse credunt, sine periculo animæ suæ credi et legi posse. Denique, in quantum recordari possum, sensum non verba scriptoris sequens, et nunc eadem semita non iisdem vestigiis incedens, nunc quibusdam diverticulis ad eandem viam recurrens, sic narrationis stylum tentabo, et non alia dicam, quam quæ aut scripta sunt ibi, aut consequenter scribi potuerunt.

following (the birth) of St. Mary, and therefore they may very safely, without any hazard of the soul, be both believed and read by those who are persuaded of the power of God to work such miracles. In a word, as far as my memory will serve, I will attempt such a sort of translation, as to say nothing which is not either written there, or may be supposed by consequence to have been written; observing rather the meaning than the words of

the author; sometimes walking in the same path with him, though not in the same steps; and though sometimes turning a little aside, returning to the same way again.

Whether any other of the ancient writers of Christianity have mentioned this Gospel, or whether these Epistles under the name of Jerome, relating to it, are genuine, I shall not yet inquire, because there still is extant a spurious book, entitled, *The Protevangelium*, or *First Gospel of the Apostle James*, containing the greatest part of the preceding one, with several other considerable additions; which (as it is necessary) I will first insert, and then endeavour to give the reader the clearest account I can of both.

C H A P. XV.

The Protevangelion of St. James, in Greek and English, published out of the Orthodoxographia of Jacobus Grynæus, p. 71, &c.

THE same reasons which induced me to insert the preceding *Gospel of the Birth of Mary*, make it necessary that I should insert this, viz. because there can be no reasonable doubt but that they were of the same original; and as that passed under the name of St. Matthew, so this was ascribed to St. James, and many of its relations received and credited by the antient Christians. Besides, it has been not only published among those books which go under the pompous character of *Orthodoxographia*, but its first editor Postellus pleads mightily for its authority, would have it received among the *Hagiographa*, and tells us, it is publicly read and judged authentick and Canonical by the Oriental Churches. (See below, Chap. XXI.)

Numb. VI.

ΠΡΩΤΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ,

The PROTEVANGELION:

Ἡ παρὰ γεννήσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,
καὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ τῆς
ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας, λόγος
ἱστορικός ἀγίος Ἰακώβος τῷ
μεινόντος, συγγενὲς τε καὶ
ἀδελφεῖ τῷ Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ,
Ἀποστόλος πρῶτος καὶ Ἐ-
πισκόπος πρῶτος Χριστιανῶν
τῶν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ.

*Or, An Historical Account of
the Birth of Christ, and the
perpetual Virgin Mary his
Mother, by James the Les-
ser, Cousin and Brother of
the Lord Jesus, chief Apo-
stle and first Bishop of the
Christians in Jerusalem.*

I. **E**N ταῖς ἱστορίαις τῶν
δώδεκα φύλων τῷ
Ἰσραὴλ ἦν Ἰωακὴμ πλάσιος
σφόδρα, καὶ προσέφερετο τὰ
δῶρα αὐτοῦ διπλᾶ Κυρίῳ τῷ
Θεῷ, λέγων ἐν ἑαυτῷ· Ἐσται τὸ
τῆς περισσείας παντὶ τῷ λαῷ,
καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀφίσεώς μου Κυρίῳ
τῷ Θεῷ εἰς ἱλασμόν ἐμοί.
Ἠγγικε δὲ ἡμέρα Κυρίῳ ἡ με-
γάλη, καὶ προσέφερον οἱ υἱοὶ
τῷ Ἰσραὴλ τὰ δῶρα αὐτῶν,
ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ἰωακὴμ τὰ
δῶρα αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἔστη κατέναντι
αὐτοῦ Ραββὴν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, λέ-
γων· Οὐκ ἔξεσί σοι προσεν-

I. **I**N the history of the
twelve tribes of Israel
(we read) there was a certain
person called Joachim, who
being very rich made double*
offerings to the Lord God,
having made this resolution ;
“ My substance shall be for the
“ benefit of the whole people,
“ and that I may find mercy
“ from the Lord God for the
“ forgiveness of my sins.” But
at a certain great feast of the
Lord, when the children of
Israel offered their gifts, and
Joachim also offered his :
Reuben the High-priest op-
posed him, saying, *It is not
lawful for thee to offer thy*

* i. e. gave as much more as he was obliged to give.

ἦσαν τὰ δῶρά σε, καὶ ὅτι σπέρμα ἐκ ἐποίησας ἐν Ἰσραήλ. Καὶ ἐλυπήθη Ἰωακείμ σφόδρα, καὶ ἀπῆλθε εἰς τὸ δωδεκάφυλον τῶ λαῷ, λέγων ἐν ἑαυτῷ· Εἰ ἐγὼ μόνος ἐκ ἐποίησα σπέρμα ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ. Ἠρευνήσῃ οὖν καὶ εὗρε πάντας δικαίους, ὅτι σπέρμα αἰέτησαν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ· καὶ ἐμνήσθη τῷ πατριάρχῃ Αβραάμ, ὅτι ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ Θεὸς υἱὸν τὸν Ἰσαάκ. Καὶ ἐλυπήθη Ἰωακείμ σφόδρα, καὶ ἐκ ἐφάνη τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτῆς· ἀλλ' ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸν ἔρημον, καὶ ἔπηξε τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτῆς ἐκεῖ, καὶ ἐνήστευσεν ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα καὶ νύκτας τεσσαράκοντα, λέγων ἐν ἑαυτῷ· Οὐ καταθήσομαι, ἕť ἐπὶ βρώμα, ἕť ἐπὶ ποτόν, ἕως ἂν ἐπισκέψηταί με Κύριος ὁ Θεός μου, καὶ ἔσται μοι ἡ εὐχή μου βρῶμα καὶ πῶμα.

II. Ἡ δὲ γυνὴ αὐτῆς Ἄννα δύο θρήνους ἐθρήνει, καὶ δύο κοπετὲς ἐκόπτετο, λέγουσα· Κόψομαι τὴν χηρείαν μου, καὶ

gifts, seeing thou hast not begot any issue in Israel. At this Joachim being concerned very much, went away to consult the registries of the twelve tribes, to see whether he was the only person who had begot no issue. But upon enquiry he found, that all the righteous had raised up seed in Israel: then he called to mind the patriarch Abraham, how that God in the end of his life had given him his son Isaac; upon which he was exceedingly distressed, and would not be seen by his wife, but retired into the wilderness, and fixed his tent there, and fasted forty days and forty nights, saying to himself, *I will not go down either to eat or drink, till the Lord my God shall look down upon me, but prayer shall be my meat and drink* ^a.

II. In the mean time his wife Anna was distressed and perplexed on a double account, and said, *I will mourn*

^a In imitation of the forty days and nights fast of Moses, recorded Exod. xxiv. 18. xxxiv. 28. Deut.

ix. 9. of Elijah, 1 Kings xix. 8. and Christ's, Matt. iv. 2.

κόψομαι τὴν ἀτεκνίαν μου. Ἦγγικε δὲ ἡμέρα Κυρία ἡ μεγάλη, καὶ εἶπεν Ἰδὶθ ἡ παιδίσκη αὐτῆς· Ἐώσπατε ταπεινοῖς τὴν ψυχὴν σε; ἤγγικεν ἡμέρα Κυρία, καὶ ἐκ ἔξερσί σοι πένθειν. Ἀλλὰ λάβε τὸ κεφαλοδέσμιον τῆτο, ὃ ἔδωκέ μοι ἡ κυρία τῶ ἔργῳ· ὅτι ἐκ ἔξερσί μοι δῆσασθαι αὐτὸ, καὶ ὅτι παιδίσκη εἰμι σὴ, καὶ χαρὰ κλῆρα ἔχεις βασιλικόν. Καὶ εἶπεν Ἄννα· Ἀπόσα ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ ἐποίησα, καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἑταπείνωσέ με σφόδρα· μή πως πανουργός τις ἔδωκέ σοι τῆτο, καὶ ἥλθες κοινωῦναι με τῇ ἀμαρτίᾳ σε.— Καὶ εἶπεν Ἰδὶθ ἡ παιδίσκη αὐτῇ· Τί ἀράσομαί σοι; μή τι μεῖζον ἀράσομαί σοι, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ ἤκυσας τῆς φωνῆς μου; ἀπέκλεισε γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς τὴν μήτραν σε, τῷ μὴ δύναι σοι καρπὸν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ. Καὶ ἐλυπήθη Ἄννα σφόδρα, καὶ περιέβλετο τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῆς τὰ νυμφικὰ, καὶ περὶ ὥραν ἐννάτην κατέβη ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ αὐτῆς τῷ περιπατῆσαι. Καὶ εἶδε δαφνιδίαν, καὶ ἐκάθισεν ὑποκάτω αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐλιτάνευε τὸν Δεσ-

both for my widowhood and my barrenness. Then drew near a great feast of the Lord, and Judith her maid said, *How long will you thus afflict your soul? The feast of the Lord is now come, when it is unlawful for any one to mourn. Take therefore this hood which was given me by one who makes such things, for it is not fit that I who am a servant should wear it, but it well suits a person of your greater character.* But Anna replied, *Depart from me, I am not used to such things; besides, the Lord hath greatly humbled me. I fear some ill-designing person hath given thee this, and thou art come to pollute me with thy sin.*—Then Judith her maid answered, *What evil shall I wish you, since you will not hearken to me? I cannot wish you a greater curse (than you are under) in that God has shut up your womb, that you should not be a mother in Israel.* At this Anna was exceedingly troubled, and having on her wedding garment, went about three o'clock in the afternoon to walk in her garden. And she saw a laurel-tree, and sat under it, and prayed unto the Lord, saying,

“ O God

πότην, λέγῃσα· Ὡ Θεὸς τῶν
πατέρων μου, εὐλόγησόν με,
καὶ ἐπάκουσόν μου, καθὼς
εὐλόγησας τὴν μήτραν τῆς
Σάρρας, καὶ ἔδωκας αὐτῇ υἱὸν
τὸν Ἰσαάκ.

"O God of my fathers, blest
me and regard my prayer,
as thou didst blest the womb
of Sarah, and gavest her a
son Isaac."

III. Καὶ ἠτένισεν εἰς τὸν
ἄραν, καὶ εἶδε καλίαν σπα-
ρίων ἐν τῇ δάφνῃ, καὶ ἐποίησε
θρήνον ἐν ἑαυτῇ λέγῃσα· Οἱ
μοι, τίς με ἐγέννησε; ποῖα
δὲ μήτρα ἐξέφυσέ με; ὅτι
ἐγὼ κατὰ ῥα ἐγενήθην ἐνώπιον
τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ· καὶ οὐεί-
δισαν καὶ ἐξεμυκτήρισάν με
ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ Θεῷ μου. Οἱ
μοι, τίνι ὁμοιώθην; ἔχ ὁ-
μοιώθην ἐγὼ τοῖς θηρίοις τῆς
γῆς, ὅτι αὐτὰ τὰ θηρία τῆς
γῆς γόνιμά ἐστι ἐνώπιόν σου,
Κύριε. Οἱ μοι, τίνι ὁμοιώθην
ἐγώ; ἔχ ὁμοιώθην ἐγὼ τοῖς
ἄλογοις ζώοις, ὅτι αὐτὰ ἄ-
λογα ζῶα γόνιμά εἰσιν ἐνώ-
πιόν σου, Κύριε. Οἱ μοι, τίνι
ὁμοιώθην ἐγώ; ἔχ ὁμοιώθην
ἐγὼ τοῖς ὕδασι τέτοις, ὅτι
αὐτὰ τὰ ὕδατα γόνιμά εἰσιν
ἐνώπιόν σου, Κύριε. Οἱ μοι,
τίνι ὁμοιώθην ἐγώ; ἔχ ὁ-
μοιώθην ἐγὼ τοῖς κύματι τῆς

III. And as she was look-
ing towards heaven, she per-
ceived a sparrow's nest in the
laurel, and mourning within
herself, she said, *Who is me,*
who begat me? and what
womb did bare me? that I
should be thus accursed before
the children of Israel, and that
they should reproach and deride
me in the temple of my God:
Who is me, to what can I be
compared? I am not com-
parable to the very beasts of the
earth, for even the beasts of
the earth are fruitful before
thee, O Lord! Who is me, to
what can I be compared? I
am not comparable to the brute
animals, for even the brute
animals are fruitful before
thee, O Lord! Who is me, to
what am I comparable? I
cannot be compared to these
waters, for even the waters
are fruitful before thee, O
Lord! Who is me, to what can
I be compared? I am not com-

* Gen. xxi. 2.

θαλάσσης, ὅτι καὶ τὰ κύματα
γαληνιώντα καὶ σκιρτώντα,
καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἰχθύες εὐλο-
γῶσί σε, Κύριε. Οἱ μοι, τί-
νι ὁμοιάσθην ἐγώ; ἐχ' ὁμοιάσθην
ἐγὼ τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, ὅτι καὶ ἡ
γῆ προσφέρει τὰς καρπὰς αὐ-
τῆς, καὶ εὐλογεῖ σε, Κύριε.

parable to the waves of the
sea; for these, whether they
are calm, or in motion, with
the fishes which are in them,
praise thee, O Lord! Wo is
me, to what can I be com-
pared? I am not comparable
to the very earth, for the earth
produces its fruits, and praises
thee, O Lord!

IV. Καὶ ἰδὲ Ἄγγελος Κυρία
ἐπέστη, λέγων αὐτῇ· Ἄννα,
Ἄννα, ἐπήκασε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς
τῆς δεήσεώς σε· συλλήψῃ καὶ
γεννήσεις, καὶ λαληθήσεται
τὸ σπέρμα σε ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκ-
μένῃ. Καὶ εἶπεν Ἄννα· Ζῇ
Κύριε ὁ Θεός μου, ὃ τι ἐὰν
γεννήσω εἴτε ἄρρεν εἴτε θῆλυ,
προσάξω αὐτὸ δῶρον Κυρίῳ τῷ
Θεῷ μου, καὶ ἔσται λειτουργίαν
πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς
αὐτῆς. Καὶ ἰδὲ δύο ἄγγελοι
ἦλθον, ἀπαγγέλλοντες αὐτῇ·
Ἰδὲ Ἰωακείμ ἐρχεται μετὰ
τῶν ποιμένων αὐτῆς· ἄγγελος
γὰρ Κυρία κατέβη πρὸς αὐτόν,
καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Ἐπήκασε Κύ-
ριος ὁ Θεός τῆς δεήσεώς σε·
σπεῦσον, κατέβηθι ἐντευθεῖν·
ἰδὲ γὰρ Ἄννα ἡ γυνὴ σε ἐν
γαστρὶ λήψεται. Καὶ κατέβη
Ἰωακείμ, καὶ ἐκάλεσε τὰς
ποιμένας αὐτῆς, λέγων· Φέρετέ

iv. Then an angel of the
Lord stood by her, and said,
Anna, Anna, the Lord hath
heard thy prayer; thou shalt
conceive and bring forth, and
thy progeny shall be spoke of in
all the world. And Anna an-
swered, As the Lord my God
liveth, whatever I bring forth,
whether it be male or female,
I will devote it to the Lord my
God, and it shall minister to
him in holy things, during its
whole life. And behold there
appeared two angels, saying
unto her, Behold Joachim (thy
husband) is coming with his
shepherds, for an angel of the
Lord hath also come down to
him, and said, The Lord
God hath heard thy prayer,
make haste and go hence, for
behold Anna thy wife shall
conceive. And Joachim
went down, and called his
shepherds, saying, Bring me

hither

μοι ὅδε δέκα ἀμνάδας ἀπα-
λές καὶ ἀμώμους, καὶ ἔσονται
δέκα ἀμνάδες Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ
με· καὶ φέρετέ μοι δεκαδύο
μόσχους ἀπαλές, καὶ ἔσονται
δεκαδύο μόσχοι τοῖς ἱερεῦσι
καὶ τῷ γερεσίᾳ· καὶ ἑκατὸν
χιμῆρες, καὶ ἔσονται ἑκατὸν
χιμαροὶ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ. Καὶ
κατέβη Ἰωακεὶμ μετὰ τῶν
ποιμένων αὐτῆ, καὶ ἔστη Ἄννα
παρὰ τὴν πύλιν, καὶ ἶδε τὸν
Ἰωακεὶμ ἐρχόμενον μετὰ τῶν
ποιμένων, καὶ δραμῆσα ἐκρε-
μάσθη ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ αὐτῆς,
λέγουσα· Νῦν οἶδα, ὅτι Κύριος
εὐλόγησέ με σφόδρα· ἰδὲ γὰρ
ἡ χήρα ἐκέτι χήρα· καὶ ἄ-
τεκνος ἐν γαστρὶ λήψομαι.

*hither ten she-lambs without
spot or blemish, and they shall
be for the Lord my God, and
bring me twelve calves with-
out blemish, and the twelve
calves shall be for the priests
and the elders. (Bring me)
also a hundred goats, and the
hundred goats shall be for the
whole people. And Joachim
went down with the shep-
herds, and Anna stood by the
gate, and saw Joachim com-
ing with the shepherds, and
she ran, and hanging about
his neck, said, Now I know
that the Lord hath greatly
blessed me; for behold, I who
was a widow am no longer a
widow, and I who was barren
shall conceive.*

v. Καὶ ἀνεπαύσατο Ἰωα-
κεὶμ τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν τῷ
οίκῳ αὐτῆς. Τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον
προσέφερε τὰ δῶρα αὐτῆς, λέ-
γων· Εἰ Κύριος ἰλάσθῃ μοι,
τὸ πεταλὸν τῆς ἱερέως φανερὸν
ποιήσει· καὶ προσῆλθε τῷ
πιτάλῳ τῆς ἱερέως, ὡς ἀνέβη
ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τῆς Κυρίας,
καὶ εἶδε, καὶ ἰδὲ ἁμαρτία ἐκ
εὐρέθη ἐν αὐτῷ. Καὶ εἶπεν

v. And Joachim abode the
first day in his house, but on
the morrow he brought his
offerings, and said, *If the
Lord be propitious to me, let
the plate which is on the
priests' forehead make it ma-
nifest.* And he consulted the
plate which the priest wore,
and saw it, and behold sin
was not found in him. And

* Such an instrument God had
appointed the High-priest to wear
for such discoveries. See Exod.

xxviii. 36, &c. and Spencer de U-
rim et Thummim.

Ἰωακείμ· Νῦν οἶδα· ὅτι ὁ
Κύριος ἰλάσθη μοι, καὶ ἀφ-
εῖλε πάντα τὰ ἁμαρτήματά
με. Καὶ κατέβη ἐκ τῆ ναῶ
Κυρίου δεδικαιωμένος, καὶ ἦλθεν
εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ. Καὶ
ἐπληρώθησαν τῇ Ἀννῇ μῆνες
ἐννέα, καὶ ἐγέννησεν Ἀννα,
καὶ εἶπε τῇ μαίρᾳ· Τί ἐγέν-
νησά; καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ, Θῆλυ·
καὶ εἶπεν Ἀννα· Ἐμεγάλυνε ὁ
Κύριος τὴν ψυχὴν μου τῇ ἡ-
μέρᾳ ταύτῃ· καὶ ἀνέκλινεν
αὐτήν. Πληρωθεῖσών δὲ τῶν
ἡμερῶν, ἀπεσμήξατο Ἀννα,
καὶ ἔδωκε μασθὸν τῇ παιδί,
καὶ ἐκαλέσατο τὸ ὄνομα αὐ-
τῆς Μαρία.

VI. Ἡμέρα δὲ καὶ ἡμέρα
ἐκραταιᾷτο ἡ παῖς· γενομένης
δὲ αὐτῆς ἐννεαμηνιαίᾳ χρόνῳ,
ἔστησεν αὐτὴν χαμαὶ ἡ μήτηρ
αὐτῆς, τῷ περᾶσαι εἰ ἴσται.
Καὶ ἐννέα βήματα περιπα-
τήσασα ἦλθεν εἰς κόλπον τῆς
μητρὸς αὐτῆς. Καὶ ἤρπασεν
αὐτὴν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῆς, λέγουσα·
Ζῇ Κύριος ὁ Θεός μου, ὃ μὴ
περιπατήσεις ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ,
ἕως ἂν ἀπάξω σε ἐν τῷ ναῷ
Κυρίου. Καὶ ἐποίησεν ἀγίασμα
ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι αὐτῆς, καὶ κοι-
τὸν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον ἐκ εἰς δι-

Joachim said, *Now I know
that the Lord is propitious to
me, and hath taken away all
my sins.* And he went down
from the temple of the Lord
justified, and he went to his
own house. And when nine
months were fulfilled to Anna,
she brought forth, and said to
the midwife, *What have I
brought forth?* And she told
her, *A girl.* Then Anna
said, *The Lord hath this day
magnified my soul;* and she
laid her in bed. And when
the days of her purification
were accomplished, she gave
suck to the child, and called
her name Mary.

VI. And the child increased
in strength every day, so that
when she was nine months
old, her mother put her upon
the ground to try if she could
stand; and when she had
walked nine steps, she came
again to her mother's lap.
Then her mother caught her
up, and said, *As the Lord my
God liveth, thou shalt not walk
again on this earth, till I
bring thee into the temple of
the Lord.* Accordingly she
made her chamber a holy
place, and suffered nothing
common or unclean to come
near

ελθεῖν δι' αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐκάλεσε
 τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν Ἑβραίων
 τὰς ἀμεινάντας, καὶ ² διεπλήνων
 αὐτήν. Ἐγένετο δὲ πρῶτος
 ἐνιαυτὸς τῇ παίδι, καὶ ἐποίη-
 σεν Ἰωακείμ δοχὴν μεγάλην,
 καὶ ἐκάλεσε τὰς ἱερεῖς, καὶ
 τὰς γραμματεῖς, καὶ τὴν γε-
 ρουσίαν, καὶ πάντα τὸν λαὸν
 Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ προσήνεκεν Ἰωα-
 κείμ τὴν παῖδα τοῖς ἀρχιε-
 ρεῦσι, καὶ εὐλόγησαν αὐτήν,
 λέγοντες· Ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πα-
 τέρων ἡμῶν εὐλόγησον τὴν
 παῖδα ταύτην, καὶ δὲς αὐτῇ
 ὄνομα ὀνομαστὸν αἰώνιον πά-
 σαις ταῖς γενεαῖς· καὶ εἶπε
 πᾶς ὁ λαὸς, Γένοιτο, γένοιτο,
 ἀμήν· καὶ πάλιν προσήνεγκε
 αὐτὴν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι, καὶ εὐλό-
 γησαν αὐτήν, λέγοντες· Ὁ
 Θεὸς τῶν ὑψωμάτων ἐπέβλεψον
 ἐπὶ τὴν παῖδα ταύτην, καὶ
 εὐλόγησον αὐτὴν ἰσχύατη εὐ-
 λογίαν, ἥ τις διαδοχὴν ἔκ-
 ῃχει. Καὶ ἀνῆρπασεν αὐτὴν
 ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῆς, καὶ ἔδωκεν
 αὐτῇ μασθόν. Καὶ ἐποίησεν
 Ἄννα ᾄσμα Κυρίῳ, λέγασα·
 Ἄσω ὥρῃν Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ μου, ὅτι ἐπεσκέψατό με, καὶ ἀφείλεν
 ἀπ' ἐμῶν τὸ ὄνειδος τῶν ἐχθρῶν μου· καὶ ἔδωκέ μοι καρπὸν δι-

near her, but invited certain
 undefiled daughters of Israel,
 and they drew her aside.
 But when the child was a
 year old, Joachim made a
 great feast, and invited the
 priests, scribes, elders, and all
 the people of Israel; and Jo-
 achim then made an offering
 of the girl to the chief-priests,
 and they blessed her, saying,
*The God of our fathers bless
 this girl, and give her a name
 famous and lasting through all
 generations.* And all the
 people replied, *So be it, Amen:*
 then (Joachim) a second time
 offered her to the priests, and
 they blessed her, saying, *O
 most high God, regard this
 girl, and bless her with an
 uninterrupted (or everlasting)
 blessing.* Upon this her mo-
 ther took her up, and gave
 her the breast, and sung the
 following song to the Lord^b:
*I will sing a song unto the
 Lord my God, for he hath vi-
 sited me, and taken away from
 me the reproach of mine ene-
 mies, and hath given me the
 fruit of his righteousness, that*

[^a Fabritius proposes *δέξαντες, curabant, perlauebant.*]

^b Compare 1 Sam. ii. 1, &c. with Luke i. 46.

καισύνης αὐτῆ· ὅτι ἀναγλαῖ
τοῖς υἱοῖς Ραβεῖμ, ὅτι θηλάζει
Ἄννα. Καὶ ἀνέκασεν αὐτὴν
ἐν τῷ ἁγιάσματι αὐτῆς, καὶ
ἐξῆλθε, καὶ διηκόνει αὐτοῖς.
Τελεσθέντ^α δὲ τῷ δείπνῳ,
κατήλθον εὐφραυνόμενοι, καὶ
δοξάζοντες τὸν Θεὸν Ἰσραὴλ.

*it may now be told to the sons
of Reuben, that Anna gives
suck. Then she put the child
to rest in the room which she
had consecrated, and she went
out and ministered unto them.
And when the feast was
ended, they went away re-
joicing, and praising the God
of Israel.*

VII. Τῇ δὲ παιδί^ᾳ προσε-
τίθεντο οἱ μῆνες αὐτῆς. Εγέ-
νετο δὲ διετής ἡ παῖς, καὶ
εἶπεν Ἰωακείμ τῇ Ἄννα· Ἀ-
πάξωμεν αὐτὴν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τῷ
Κυρίῳ, ὥστε ἀποδῶμεν τὴν ἐπαγ-
μηλίαν, ἣν ἐπηγάμεθα Κυ-
ρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ, μή πως ἀποσφρά-
γῃ ἀφ' ἡμῶν, καὶ ἀπρόσδεκον
γένοιτο τὸ δῶρον ἡμῶν. Καὶ
εἶπεν Ἄννα· Ἀναμείνωμεν τὸ
τρίτου ἔτ^{ος}, ὅπως μὴ ἐπιζη-
τήσῃ πατέρα. Καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωα-
κείμ, ἀναμείνωμεν. Ἐγένετο
δὲ τριετής ἡ παῖς, καὶ εἶπεν
Ἰωακείμ· Καλέσωμεν τὰς θυ-
γατέρας τῶν Ἑβραίων τὰς
ἀμιάνας, καὶ λαβέτωσαν ἀνὰ
λαμπάδα, καὶ ἔξωσαν και-
όμεναι, ἵνα μὴ σφραγῇ ἡ παῖς
εἰς τὰ ὅπισω, καὶ αἰχμαλω-
τισθῇ ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτῆς ἐκ ναῶ
Κυρίου. Καὶ ἐποίησαν ἕτως,
ὥς ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸν ναὸν Κυρίου. Καὶ εἰδὼς αὐτὴν ὁ

VII. But the girl grew,
and when she was two years
old, Joachim said to Anna,
*Let us lead her to the Temple
of the Lord, that we may per-
form our vow, which we have
vowed unto the Lord God, lest
he should be angry with us, and
our offering be unacceptable.*
But Anna said, *Let us wait
the third year, lest she should be
at a loss to know her father.*
And Joachim said, *Let us then
wait.* And when the child
was three years old, Joachim
said, *Let us invite the daugh-
ters of the Hebrews, who are
undefiled, and let them take
each a lamp, and let them be
lighted, that the child may not
turn back again, and her mind
be set against the Temple of the
Lord.* And they did thus till
they ascended into the Temple
of the Lord. And the (High)

Priest

ἱερεὺς, καὶ εὐλόγησεν αὐτήν,
καὶ εἶπε· Μαρία, ἐμεγάλυνε
Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τὸ ὄνομά σε
ἐν πάσαις ταῖς γενεαῖς· ἐπὶ
σοι γὰρ ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμε-
ρῶν φανερώσει Κύριε τὸ λύ-
τρον αὐτῆς τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ.
Καὶ ἐκάθισεν αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ τρί-
τῳ βαθμῷ τῆ θυσιαστήρις, καὶ
δίδωκεν αὐτῇ χάριν Κύριε ὁ
Θεός, καὶ κατεχόρευσε τοῖς
ποσὶν αὐτῆς, καὶ ἠγάπησεν
αὐτὴν πᾶς οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ.

VIII. Καὶ κατέβησαν γο-
νοὶς αὐτῆς θαυμάζοντες, καὶ
αἰνῶντες τὸν Θεόν, ὅτι ἔκ-
εβράφη ἡ παῖς πρὸς αὐτούς.
Ἦν δὲ Μαρία ἐν τῷ ναῷ Κυ-
ρίου ὡς περίετρα νεομομένη, καὶ
ἐλάμβανε τροφήν ἐκ χειρὸς
Ἀγγέλου. Γενομένης δὲ αὐτῆς
δώδεκα ἐτῶν, συμβέβηκεν ἐγγεῖ-
ναι τῶν ἱερέων λεγόντων· Ἰδοὺ Μα-
ρία γέγονε δώδεκαετής· τί ἔν-
αυτῇ ποιήσωμεν, μή πως μαιω-
θῇ τὸ ἁγίασμα τῆ Κυρίου Θεοῦ
ἡμῶν; Καὶ εἶπον οἱ ἱερεῖς
πρὸς Ζαχαρίαν τὸν ἀρχιερέα·
Σὺ στήθι ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον
Κυρίου, καὶ εἰσελθε εἰς τὸ ἁγί-
ασμα, καὶ πρόσευξαι περὶ
αὐτῆς· καὶ ὁ ἐάν φανερώσῃ σοι
Κύριε, τὰ τοῦ ποιήσας. Καὶ

Priest received her, and blessed
her, and said, *Mary, the Lord
God hath magnified thy name
to all generations, and to the
very end of time by thee will
the Lord shew his redemption
to the children of Israel.* And
he placed her upon the third
step of the altar, and the Lord
gave unto her grace, and she
danced with her feet, and all
the house of Israel loved her.

VIII. And her parents went
away filled with wonder, and
praising God, because the girl
did not return back to them.
But Mary continued in the
Temple, as a dove educated
there, and received her food
from the hand of an Angel.
And when she was twelve
years of age, the Priests met
in a council, and said, *Behold,
Mary is twelve years of age;
what shall we do with her, for
fear lest the holy place of the
Lord our God should be de-
filed?* Then replied the Priests
to Zacharias the High-priest,
*Do you stand at the altar of the
Lord, and enter into the holy
place, and make petitions con-
cerning her, and whatsoever
the Lord shall manifest unto
you, that do.* Then the High-
priest

εἰσῆλθεν ὁ ἱερεὺς λαβὼν τὸν
 δωδεκάκωδωνα εἰς τὰ ἁγία
 τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ πῦξατο περὶ
 αὐτῆς. Καὶ ἰδὲ Ἄγγελος Κυ-
 ρίε ἐπέστη, λέγων αὐτῷ· Ζα-
 χαρία, Ζαχαρία, ἔξελθε καὶ
 ἐκκλησιάσων πάντας τὰς χη-
 ρεύοντας τῆ λαῶ, καὶ ἐνεγκά-
 τωσαν ἀνὰ ῥάβδον, καὶ ὃ ἂν
 ἐπιδείξῃ Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ση-
 μεῖον, τέττε ἔσαι γυνή. Καὶ
 ἐξῆλθον οἱ κήρυκες κατ' ὅλης
 τῆς Ἰουδαίας, καὶ ἤχησεν ἡ
 σάλπιγξ Κυρίου, καὶ ἰδὲ συν-
 ἰδραμον πάντες εἰς ἀπάντη-
 σιν.

IX. Ἰωσήφ δὲ ρίψας τὸ
 σκέπαρνον, ἐξῆλθεν εἰς συνάν-
 τησιν αὐτῶν, καὶ συναχθέντες
 ἀπῆλθον πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα,
 λαβόντες τὰς ῥάβδους. Δεξά-
 μενος δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς ῥάβδους
 αὐτῶν εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν
 προσεύξασθαι. Τέλεισας δὲ
 τὴν εὐχὴν, ἔλαβε τὰς ῥάβδους,
 καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ
 σημεῖον ἔκ ἦν ἐπ' αὐταῖς· τὴν
 δὲ ἐσχάτην ῥάβδον ἔλαβεν Ἰω-
 σήφ· καὶ ἰδὲ περιστερὰ ἦλθεν
 ἐκ τῆς ῥάβδου, καὶ ἐπετάσσθη
 ἐπάνω τῆς κεφαλῆς Ἰωσήφ·

priest entered into the Holy of
 Holies, and taking away with
 him the breast-plate of judg-
 ment^a, made prayers con-
 cerning her; and behold the
 Angel of the Lord came to
 him, and said, *Zacharias, Za-
 charias, Go forth and call to-
 gether all the widowers among
 the people, and let every one of
 them bring his rod, and he by
 whom the Lord shall shew a
 sign shall be the husband of
 Mary.* And the criers went
 out through all Judea, and the
 trumpet of the Lord sounded,
 and all the people ran and met
 together.

IX. Joseph also throwing
 away his hatchet went out to
 meet them, and when they were
 met, they went to the High-
 priest, taking every man his
 rod. After the High-priest had
 received their rods, he went
 into the Temple to pray;
 and when he had finished his
 prayer, he took the rods and
 went forth and distributed
 them, and there was no sign
 (or miracle) attended them.
 The last rod was taken by
 Joseph, and behold, *a dove
 proceeded out of the rod, and
 flew upon the head of Joseph.*

^a See Exod. xxviii. 22, &c.

καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιερεύς· Ἰωσήφ, σὺ κεκλήρωσαι τὴν παρθένον Κυρίε παραλαβεῖν εἰς τήρησιν αὐτῷ· καὶ ἀντεῖπεν ὁ Ἰωσήφ, λίγων υἱὸς ἔχω καὶ πρεσβύτης εἰμί, αὐτὴ δὲ νεανίς· μή πως ἔσομαι κατάγελως τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιερεύς· Ἰωσήφ, φοβήθητι Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σε, καὶ μνήσθητι, ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς Δαδὰν, Κωρὲ, καὶ Ἀβειρώμ· πῶς ἰδιχάσθη ἡ γῆ καὶ κατέπιεν αὐτὰς διὰ τὴν ἀντιλογίαν αὐτῶν· καὶ νῦν φοβήθητι τὸν Θεόν, Ἰωσήφ, μή τι ἔσαι ταῦτα ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ σε. Καὶ φοβηθεὶς Ἰωσήφ παρέλαβεν αὐτὴν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς. Καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωσήφ τῇ Μαρίᾳ· Ἰδὲ παρέλαβόν σε ἐκ ναῶ Κυρίε, καὶ νῦν καταλείπω σε ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου· ἀπέρχομαι γὰρ οἰκοδομῆσαι τὰς οἰκοδομάς μου· Κύριος δὲ σε διαφυλάξει.

Χ. Ἐγένετο δὲ συμβῆλιν τῶν ἱερέων, λεγόντων· ποιήσωμεν καταπέτασμα τῆς ναῶ Κυρίε. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιερεύς· Καλίσσατέ μοι ἑπτὰ παρθένας ἀμιάντες ἀπὸ τῆς φυλῆς Δαβίδ. Καὶ ἀπῆλθον οἱ ὑπηρέται, καὶ εἰσήγαγον αὐτὰς εἰς

And the High-priest said, *Joseph, Thou art the person chosen to take the Virgin of the Lord to keep her for him; but Joseph refused, saying, I am an old man, and have children, but she is young, and I fear lest I should appear ridiculous in Israel.* Then the High-priest replied, *Joseph, Fear the Lord thy God, and remember how God dealt with Dathan, Corah, and Abiram, how the earth opened and swallowed them up, because of their contradiction.* Now therefore, *Joseph, fear God, lest the like things should happen in your family.* Joseph then being afraid, took her unto his house, and Joseph said unto Mary, *Behold, I have taken thee from the Temple of the Lord, and now I will leave thee in my house; I must go to mind my trade of building.* The Lord be with thee.

x. And it came to pass in a council of the Priests it was said, *Let us make a new veil for the Temple of the Lord.* And the High-priest said, *Call together to me seven undefiled Virgins of the tribe of David.* And the servants went and brought them into the Temple

τὸν ναὸν Κυρία, καὶ εἶπεν αὐταῖς ὁ ἀρχιερεύς· Λάχετέ μοι ὧδε, τίς νήσεται χρυσόν, καὶ τὸν ὑάκινθον, καὶ τὸν κόκκινον, καὶ τὴν βύσσον, καὶ τὴν ἀληθινὴν πορφύραν· καὶ ἐμνήσθη Ζαχαρίας περὶ τῆς Μαρίας, ὅτι ἐκ φυλῆς Δαβὶδ ἐστὶ. Καὶ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτήν, καὶ ἔλαχεν αὐτῇ ἡ ἀληθινὴ πορφύρα, καὶ ἀπῆε εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς. Ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ Ζαχαρίας ἐσίγησε, καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ αὐτῶ Σαμὴλ, μέχρις ᾧ ἐλάλησε Ζαχαρίας. Μαρία δὲ λαβῶσα τὴν ἀληθινὴν πορφύραν ἔνηθε.

XI. Καὶ λαβῶσα τὴν κάλπην, ἐξῆλθε δὲ γεμίσει ὕδωρ, καὶ ἤκουσε φωνήν, λέγουσαν αὐτῇ· Χαίρε κεχαριτωμένη, ὁ Κύριος[Ⓢ] μετὰ σοῦ, εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξί. Καὶ περιεβλέπετο δεξιὰ καὶ ἀριστερά, πόθεν αὐτῇ ἡ φωνή. Καὶ σύντρομος[Ⓢ] γενομένη, εἰσῆλθεν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτῆς, καὶ ἀνέπαυσε τὴν κάλπην, καὶ λαβῶσα τὴν πορφύραν, ἐκαθέσθη ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ αὐτῆς, καὶ εἵλεεν αὐτήν. Καὶ ἰδὲ, Ἄγγελος[Ⓢ] Κυ-

Temple of the Lord, and the High-priest said unto them, *Cast lots before me now, who of you shall spin the golden thread, who the blue, who the scarlet, who the fine linen, and who the true purple.* Then the High-priest knew Mary, that she was of the tribe of David; and he called her, and the true purple fell to her lot (to spin), and she went away to her own house. But from that time Zacharias (the High-priest) became dumb, and Samuel was placed in his room till Zacharias spoke again. But Mary took the true purple, and did spin it.

XI. And she took a pot, and went out to draw water, and heard a voice saying unto her, *Hail thou who art full of grace*, the Lord is with thee; thou art blessed among women.* And she looked round to the right and to the left (to see) whence that voice came, and then trembling went into her house, and laying down the water-pot she took the purple, and sat down in her seat to work it. And behold the Angel of the Lord stood by

* Luk. i. 28, &c.

ρία ἐπέστη, λέγων αὐτῇ· Μὴ φοβῆ, Μαρία, εὗρες γὰρ χάριν ἐνώπιον Κυρίου. Ἡ δὲ ἀκούσασα διεκρίθη ἐν ἑαυτῇ λέγουσα, ποταπὸς μοι ὁ ἀσπασμὸς ἔστος. Καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος εἶπε πρὸς αὐτήν· Ὁ Κύριος μετὰ σε, καὶ συλήψῃ ἐν γαστρὶ. Καὶ εἰ ἐγὼ, φησί, συλήψομαι ἀπὸ Θεῷ ζῶντος, καὶ γεννήσω, ὡς πᾶσα γυνὴ γεννᾷ; Εἶπε δὲ ὁ ἄγγελος· ἔχ ἄνω, Μαρία, ἀλλὰ πνεῦμα ἁγίου ἐπιλεύσεται ἐπὶ σε, καὶ δύναμις ὑψίστης ἐπισκιάσει σοί· διὸ καὶ τὸ γενόμενον ἐκ σε ἅγιον, κληθήσεται υἱὸς Θεοῦ ζῶντος, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν· αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν. Καὶ ἰδὲ ἡ συγγενὴς σε Ἐλισαβὲτ συνεληφκυῖα ἐστὶν υἱὸν ἐν γήρει αὐτῆς· καὶ ἔτι μὴν ἑκτὸς ἐστὶν αὐτῇ, τῇ λαμβάνει σείρα· ὅτι ἐκ ἀδυνατίσας πᾶν ῥῆμα παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ. Καὶ εἶπε Μαρία· Ἰδὲ ἡ δόξα Κυρίου, γένοιτό μοι κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμά σε.

her, and said, *Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found favour in the sight of God; which when she heard, she reasoned with herself what that sort of salutation meant.* And the Angel said unto her, *The Lord is with thee, and thou shalt conceive: to which she replied, What! shall I conceive by the living God, and bring forth as all other women do?* But the Angel returned answer, *Not so, O Mary, but the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee; wherefore that which shall be born of thee shall be holy, and shall be called the Son of the Living God, and thou shalt call his name Jesus; for he shall save his people from their sins.* And behold thy cousin Elizabeth, she also hath conceived a son in her old age. And this now is the sixth month with her, who was called barren; for nothing is impossible with God. And Mary said, *Behold the handmaid of the Lord, let it be unto me according to thy word.*

XII. Καὶ ποιήσασα τὴν πορφύραν ἀπήγαγε ταύτην τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ· καὶ εὐλόγησε

XII. And when she had wrought her purple, she carried it to the High-priest, and

αὐτὴν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, λέγων·
 Μαρία, ἐμεγάλυνε Κύριον· ὁ
 Θεὸς τὸ ὄνομά σου, καὶ ἔση
 εὐλογημένη ἐν πάσαις ταῖς
 γενεαῖς τῆς γῆς. Χαρὰν δὲ
 λαβῶσα Μαρία ἀπῆε πρὸς
 Ἑλισάβετ, τὴν συγγενίδα αὐ-
 τῆς, καὶ ἔκρουσε τὴν θύραν·
 καὶ ἀκήσασα ἡ Ἑλισάβετ,
 δραμῶσα ἤνοιξεν αὐτῇ, καὶ
 εὐλόγησεν αὐτὴν, καὶ εἶπε·
 Καὶ πόθεν μοι τῆτο, ἵνα ἡ
 μήτηρ τοῦ Κυρίου μου ᾖ ἡλθεν πρὸς
 με; Ἰδὲ γὰρ ὡς ἐγένετο ὁ
 ἀσπασμός σου εἰς τὰ ὦτά μου,
 τὸ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐσκήρτισε, καὶ εὐ-
 λόγησέ σε. Καὶ Μαρία ἐπε-
 λάθετο τῶν μυστηρίων, ὧν ἐλά-
 λησεν αὐτῇ Γαβριὴλ ὁ Ἀρχ-
 ἀγγέλ· καὶ ἠτένισεν εἰς τὸν
 οὐρανόν, καὶ εἶπε· Κύριε, τίς
 εἰμὶ ἐγώ, ὅτι πᾶσαι αἱ γε-
 νεαὶ τῆς γῆς ἐμὲ μακαρίζουσιν;
 Ἡμέρα δὲ καὶ ἡμέρα ἡ γαστήρ
 αὐτῆς ὠγκᾶτο, καὶ φοβηθεῖσα,
 ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς, καὶ
 ἔκρυβεν ἑαυτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν υἱῶν
 Ἰσραὴλ. Ἦν δὲ ἐτῶν δεκα-
 τεσσάρων, ὅτι ταῦτα ἐγένετο τὰ μυστήρια.

XIII. Ἐγένετο δὲ αὐτῇ ἕκ-
 τῷ μηνί· καὶ ἰδὲ ἦλθεν Ἰω-

the High-priest blessed her,
 saying, *Mary, the Lord God*
hath magnified thy name, and
thou shalt be blessed in all the
ages of the world. Then
 Mary, filled with joy, went
 away to her cousin Elizabeth,
 and knocked at the door.
 When Elizabeth heard, she
 ran and opened to her, and
 blessed her, and said, *Whence*
is this to me, that the mother of
my Lord should come unto me?
For lo! as soon as the voice of
thy salutation reached my ears,
that which is in me leaped and
blessed thee. But Mary, being
 ignorant of all those mysteri-
 ous things which the Arch-
 angel Gabriel had spoken to
 her, lift up her eyes to heaven,
 and said, *Lord! What am I,*
that all the generations of the
earth should call me blessed?
 But perceiving herself daily to
 grow big, and being afraid,
 she went home, and hid her-
 self from the children of Is-
 rael; and was fourteen years
 old when all these things hap-
 pened.

XIII. And when her sixth
 month was come, Joseph re-

* Luk. ii. 39, &c.

σὴν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκοδομιῶν αὐτῆς, καὶ εἰσελθὼν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτῆς εἶρε τὴν παρθένον ὄγκωμένην, καὶ ἐτύπησε τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς, λέγων· Ποίῳ προσώπῳ ἀτενίσω πρὸς Κύριον τὸν Θεὸν μου; Τί δὲ λέξω περὶ παιδὸς ταύτης, ὅτι παρθένον αὐτὴν παρέλαβον ἐκ ναῶ Κυρίου τῆς Θεῶς μου, καὶ οὐκ ἐφύλαξα αὐτήν; Τίς ὁ θηρεύσας με; τίς τὸ πονηρὸν τῆτο ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου, καὶ ἤχμαλῶτευσεν τὴν παρθένον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ἐμίανεν αὐτήν; Μήτι ἐν ἐμοὶ ἀνεκεφαλαιώθη ἡ ἱστορία τῆς Ἀδάμ; ἐν γὰρ τῇ ὥρᾳ τῆς δοξολογίας αὐτῆς, ἦλθεν ὁ ὄφης, καὶ εὔρε τὴν Εὐάν μόνην, καὶ ἐξηπάτησεν αὐτήν· ἔτω καί μοι συνέβη. Καὶ ἀνέστη Ἰωσήφ ἀπὸ τῆς ἰθάφης, καὶ καλέσας αὐτήν, εἶπε· Μεμελημένη τῷ Θεῷ τί τῆτο πεποίηκας; τί ἐταπεινώσας τὴν ψυχὴν σου, ἢ ἀνατραφεῖσα εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ τροφὴν λαβῆσα ἐκ χειρὸς τῆς Ἀγγέλου; Ἡ δὲ ἔκλαυσε πικρῶς, λέγουσα· Καθάρὰ εἰμι, καὶ ἄνδρα οὐ γινώσκω. Καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωσήφ· Πόθεν εἰς τὸ ἐγγάστριόν σου; καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ Μα-

turned from his building houses abroad (which was his trade), and entering into the house, found the Virgin grown big: then smiting upon his face, he said, *With what face can I look up to the Lord my God? or, what shall I say concerning this young woman? for I received her a Virgin out of the Temple of the Lord my God, and have not preserved her such? Who has thus deceived me? Who has committed this evil in my house, and seducing the Virgin from me, hath defiled her? Is not the history of Adam exactly accomplished in me? For in the very instant of his glorifying God (or his glory), the serpent came and found Eve alone, and seduced her. Just after the same manner it has happened to me.* Then Joseph, arising from the ground, called her, and said, *O thou who hast been so much favoured by God, why hast thou done this? Why hast thou thus debased thy soul, who wast educated in the Holy of Holies, and received thy food from the hand of Angels? But she, with a flood of tears, replied, I am innocent, and have known no man.* Then said Joseph, *How comes it to pass you are with child? Mary answered, As the*

εἶπ· Ζῇ Κύρι· ὁ Θεός μου,
ὅτι ἔγινώσκω πόθεν ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν
ἐμοί.

Lord my God liveth, I know
not by what means.

XIV. Καὶ ἐφοβήθη Ἰω-
σὴφ σφόδρα, καὶ ἠρέμυσεν ἐξ
αὐτῆς, διαλογιζόμενος τὸ τί
ἂν αὐτῇ ποιήσῃ. Καὶ εἶπεν
ἐν ἑαυτῷ Ἰωσήφ· Ἐὰν κρύψω
τὸ ἁμάρτημα αὐτῆς, εὐρεθή-
σομαι ἔνοχος τῷ νόμῳ Κυ-
ρί· καὶ ἐὰν αὐτὴν φανερώσω
τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ, φοβῶμαι
μή πως ἀγγελικόν ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν αὐ-
τῇ, καὶ εὐρεθήσομαι παραδι-
δὼς αἷμα ἀθῶον εἰς κρίμα θανα-
τάτε. Τί ἐν αὐτῇ ποιήσω ;
λάθρα ἀπολύσω αὐτήν. Καὶ
κατέλαβεν αὐτὸν νύξ, καὶ ἰδὲ
Ἄγγελος Κυρί· φαίνεται αὐ-
τῷ κατ' ὄναρ, λέγων· Μὴ φο-
βηθῇς τὴν παῖδα ταύτην πα-
ραλαβεῖν· τὸ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ ὄν,
ἐκ πνεύματος ἐστὶν ἁγίου. Τίξε-
ται δὲ υἱόν, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ
ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν· αὐτὸς γὰρ
σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν
ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν. Καὶ ἀνέστη
Ἰωσήφ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου, καὶ ἐδόξ-
ασε τὸν Θεὸν Ἰσραὴλ τὸν δούλου
αὐτοῦ τὴν χάριν ταύτην, καὶ
διεφύλαξε τὴν παῖδα.

xiv. Then Joseph was
exceedingly afraid, and went
away from her, considering
what he should do with her ;
and he thus reasoned with
himself : *If I conceal her
crime, I shall be found guilty
by the law of the Lord ; and if
I discover her to the children of
Israel, I fear, lest she being
with child by an Angel, I shall
be found to betray the life of an
innocent person : what there-
fore shall I do ? I will privily
dismiss her.* Then the night
was come upon him, when be-
hold an Angel of the Lord ap-
peared to him in a dream, and
said, *Be not afraid to take that
young woman, for that which
is within her is of the Holy
Ghost ; and she shall bring forth
a son, and thou shalt call his
name Jesus, for he shall save
his people from their sins.*
Then Joseph arose from his
sleep, and glorified the God of
Israel, who had shewn him
such favour, and preserved the
Virgin.

a See Matt. i. 18,

XV. Καὶ ἦλθεν Ἀννας ὁ γραμματεὺς, καὶ εἶπε τῷ Ἰωσήφ· Διὰ τί ἐκ ἐφάνης τῇ εἰσοδῷ καὶ συνοδίᾳ ἡμῶν ; καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ἰωσήφ· Ὅτι ἔκαμνον ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ ἀνεπαυσάμην πρῶτην ἡμέραν· Ἐσράφη δὲ Ἀννας, καὶ εἶδε τὴν παρθένον ὀγκυμέην, καὶ ἀπῆλθε πρὸς τὸν ἱερέα, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Ἰωσήφ, ὃ συμμεμαρτύρηκας, ἠνόμισε σφόδρα τὴν γὰρ παρθένον, ἣν παρέλαβε ἐκ ναῶ Κυρίου, ἐμίανεν αὐτήν, καὶ ἔκλεψε τὰς γάμους αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐκ ἐφανέρωσε τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἱερεὺς· Ἰωσήφ τῷτο πεποίηκε ; καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ἀννας, Ἀποσεῖλον ὑπηρετάς, καὶ εὐρήσεις τὴν παρθένον ὀγκυμέην. Καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν οἱ ὑπηρεταί, καὶ εὗρον καθὼς εἶπεν. Καὶ ἤγαγον αὐτήν καὶ τὸν Ἰωσήφ εἰς τὸ κριτήριον, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ ὁ ἱερεὺς· Μαρία, τί τῷτο ἐποίησας ; τί ἑταπείνωσας τὴν ψυχὴν σε, καὶ ἐπελάθῃς Κυρίου τῷ Θεῷ σε, ἡ ἀνατραφεῖσα εἰς τὰ ἁγία τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ λαβῆσα τροφὴν ἐκ χειρὸς ἁγγέλων, καὶ ἀκήσασα τῶν ὕμνων αὐτῶν ; τί δὲ τῷτο ἐποί-

xv. Then came Annas the Scribe, and said to Joseph, *Wherefore have we not seen you since your return ?* And Joseph replied, *Because I was weary after my journey, and rested the first day.* But Annas turning about perceived the Virgin big with child, and went away to the Priest, and told him, *Joseph, in whom you placed so much confidence, is guilty of a notorious crime, in that he hath defiled the Virgin whom he received out of the Temple of the Lord, and hath privately married her, not discovering it to the children of Israel.* Then said the Priest, *Hath Joseph done this ?* Annas replied, *If you send any of your servants, you will find that she is with child.* And the servants went, and found it as she said. Upon this both she and Joseph were brought to their trial ; and the Priest said unto her, *Mary, what hast thou done ? Why hast thou debased thy soul, and forgot thy God, seeing thou wast brought up in the Holy of Holies, and didst receive thy food from the hands of Angels, and heardest their songs ?* *Why*

πας; Ἡ δὲ ἰδάκρυσε πικρῶς, λέγῃσα· Ζῆ Κύριος ὁ Θεός μου, καθότι καθαρὰ εἰμι ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνδρὰ ἐ γινώσκω. Εἶπε δὲ ἱερεὺς πρὸς Ἰωσήφ· Τί τῶτο ἐποίησας; εἶπε δὲ Ἰωσήφ· Ζῆ Κύριος ὁ Θεός μου, καθότι καθαρὸς εἰμι ἐξ αὐτῆς. Εἶπε δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς· Μὴ ψευδομαρτύρῃς, εἰπέ τὸ ἀληθές. Ἐκλείψας τὰς γάμους αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐκ ἐφανέρωσας τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ· ἐκ ἐκλινας τὴν κεφαλὴν σου ὑπὸ κραταιὰν χεῖρα, ὅπερ εὐλογηθῇ τὸ σπέρμα σου. Ἐσίγησε δὲ Ἰωσήφ.

xvi. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἱερεὺς· Ἀπόδο^α τὴν παρθένον, ἣν παρέλαβες ἐκ ναὸ Κυρίου. Καὶ περιδάκρυς γενόμενος, εἶπεν ὁ ἱερεὺς τῷ Ἰωσήφ· Ποτιῶ ὑμᾶς τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς ἐλέγχσεως Κυρίου, καὶ φανερώσει τὰ ἀμαρτήματα ὑμῶν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὑμῶν. Λαβὼν δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐπότισε τὸν Ἰωσήφ, καὶ ἐπεμψεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ὄρεινὴν, καὶ ἐπανῆλθεν ὁλόκληρος. Ἐθαύμασεν δὲ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς, ὅτι ἀμαρτία ἐκ

hast thou done this? To which with a flood of tears she answered, *As the Lord my God liveth, I am innocent in his sight, seeing I know no man.* Then the Priest said to Joseph, *Why hast thou done this?* And Joseph answered, *As the Lord my God liveth, I have not been concerned with her.* But the Priest said, *Lie not, but declare the truth; thou hast privately married her, and not discovered it to the children of Israel, and humbled thyself under the mighty hand (of God), that thy seed might be blessed: and Joseph was silent.*

xvi. Then said the Priest (to Joseph), *You must restore to the Temple of the Lord the Virgin which you took thence.* But he wept bitterly, and the Priest added, *I will cause you both to drink the water of the Lord^a, which is for trial, and so your iniquity shall be laid open before you.* Then the Priest took (the water) and made Joseph drink, and sent him to a mountainous place, and he returned perfectly well, and all the people wondered

^a Num. v. 18.

ἐφάνη ἐπ' αὐτὸν, καὶ εἶπεν ὁ
ἱερεὺς· Εἰ Κύριος ἔκ ἐφανε-
ρωσε τὰ ἀμαρτήματα ὑμῶν,
ἔδε ἐγὼ κρίνω ὑμᾶς· καὶ ἀπέ-
λυσεν αὐτούς. Παραλαβὼν δὲ
ὁ Ἰωσήφ τὴν Μαρίαν, ἀπῆλ-
θες εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς, χαίρων
καὶ ὑμνῶν τὸν Θεὸν Ἰσραὴλ.

XVII. Ἐγένετο δὲ κέλευσις
ὑπὸ τῆ βασιλείᾳς Αὐγύστου ἀπο-
γράφεσθαι πάντας τὰς Ἰου-
δαίας, οἵ ᾤσαν ἐν Βηθλεὲμ τῆς
Ἰουδαίας. Εἶπε δὲ Ἰωσήφ·
Ἐγὼ ἀπογράψομαι τὰς υἱάς
με· ταύτην δὲ τὴν παῖδα τί
ποιήσω; ἀπογράψασθαι αὐ-
τὴν γυναῖκα ἐμὴν αἰσχύνομαι·
ἀλλὰ θυγάτηρα; οἶδασι δὲ
υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ, ὅτι ἔκ ἐστι με
θυγάτηρ. Αὐτὴ ἡ ἡμέρα Κυ-
ρίου ποιήσει ὡς βέλεται. Καὶ
ἔφρωσε τὴν ὄνον καὶ ἐκάθισεν
αὐτήν, Ἰωσήφ δὲ καὶ Σιμων
ἠκολούθησαν, καὶ ἤγγισαν ἐπὶ
μίλια τρία. Καὶ ἐγράφη
Ἰωσήφ, καὶ εἶδε τὴν Μαρίαν
συγνὴν, καὶ εἶπεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ
Ἰωσήφ· Ἰσως τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ
χευμαίται αὐτήν. Καὶ πάλιν
ἐγράφη Ἰωσήφ, καὶ εἶδεν αὐ-

that his guilt was not disco-
vered. So the Priest said,
*Since the Lord has not made
your sins evident, neither do I
condemn you.* So he sent them
away. Then Joseph took
Mary, and went to his house,
rejoicing and praising the
God of Israel.

XVII. And it came to pass,
that there went forth a decree
from the Emperor Augustus,
that all the Jews should be
taxed, who were of Bethle-
hem in Judea: and Joseph said,
*I will take care that my chil-
dren be taxed: but what shall
I do with this young woman?
To have her taxed as my wife,
I am ashamed; and if (I tax
her) as my daughter, all Israel
knows she is not my daughter.*
*When the time of the Lord's
appointment shall come, let him
do as seems good to him.* And
he saddled the ass, and put
her upon it, and Joseph and
Simon followed after her, and
arrived (to Bethlehem) within
three miles. Then Joseph
turning about saw Mary sor-
rowful, and said within him-
self, *Perhaps she is in pain
through that which is within
her.* But when he turned

* Luke ii, 1.

τὴν γελῶσαν, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ·
 Μαρία, τί ἐστίν, ὅτι τὸ πρόσ-
 ωπόν σε βλέπω ποτὲ μὲν
 συγνόν, ποτὲ δὲ γελῶν καὶ
 ἀγαλλιώμενον; καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς
 αὐτὸν Μαρία· Δύο λαὸς βλέ-
 πω τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς μου, ἓνα
 κλαίοντα καὶ κοπτόμενον, καὶ
 ἓνα γελῶντα καὶ ἀγαλλιώ-
 μενον. Ἦλθε δὲ πάλιν ἀνὰ
 μέσον τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ εἶπεν Μα-
 ρία τῷ Ἰωσήφ· Καθέλόν με,
 ὅτι ἐπείγει τὸ ἐν ἐμοὶ προελ-
 θεῖν. Καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωσήφ· Πᾶ
 ἀπάξω σε; ὅτι ὁ τόπος ἔρη-
 μός ἐστι. Καὶ εἶπε πάλιν
 Μαρία τῷ Ἰωσήφ· Κατάβαγέ
 με, λίαν γὰρ τὸ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐπεί-
 γει με. Καὶ εὐθὺς κατή-
 γαγεν αὐτὴν Ἰωσήφ.

XVIII. Εὗρε δὲ ἐκεῖ σπή-
 λαιον, καὶ εἰσῆγαγεν αὐτὴν
 ἐκεῖ· καὶ παραστήσας αὐτὴν
 τῷ σπηλαίῳ καὶ τὰς υἱὰς αὐ-
 τῆς, ἐξῆλθε ζητῆσαι μαῖαν
 Ἑβραίαν ἐν χώρᾳ Βηθλεέμ.
 Ἐγὼ δὲ, λέγει Ἰωσήφ, περι-
 πατῶν ἀνέβλεψα εἰς τὸν αἶρα,
 καὶ εἶδον τὸν αἶρα ἐκθαμβον,
 καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τῆς ἡρανῆς ἡρε-
 μέντα. Καὶ ἐπέβλεψα ἐπὶ
 τὴν γῆν, καὶ εἶδον σκιάφην
 κειμένην, καὶ ἐργάτας ἀνα-

about again, he saw her laugh-
 ing, and said to her, *Mary,*
how happens it, that I some-
times see sorrow, and sometimes
laughter and joy in thy coun-
tenance? And Mary replied
 to him, *I see two people with*
mine eyes, the one weeping and
mourning, the other laughing
and rejoicing. And he went
 again across the way, and
 Mary said to Joseph, *Take me*
down from the ass, for that
which is in me presses to come
forth. But Joseph replied,
Whither shall I take thee? for
the place is desert. Then said
 Mary again to Joseph, *Take*
me down, for that which is
within me mightily presses me.
 And Joseph took her down.

XVIII. And he found there
 a cave, and let her into it,
 and leaving her and his sons
 in the cave, he went forth to
 seek a Hebrew midwife in
 the village of Bethlehem.
But as I was going (said Jo-
seph) I looked up into the air,
and I saw the clouds astonished,
and the fowls of the air stop-
ping in the midst of their
flight. And I looked down
towards the earth, and saw a
table spread, and working peo-

κημένες, καὶ αἱ χεῖρες κω-
τῶν ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὴν σκάφην·
καὶ οἱ μασσόμενοι ἐκ ἐμάσ-
σοντο, καὶ οἱ ἀναφέροντες ἐπὶ
τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐκ ἀνέφερον, καὶ
οἱ προσφέροντες τῷ στόματι ἔ-
προσέφερον· ἀλλὰ πάντων
ἦν τὸ πρόσωπα ἄνω βλέ-
ποντα. Καὶ εἶδον πρόβατα
ἐλαυνόμενα, καὶ τὰ πρόβατα
ἐσκήκισαν. Καὶ ἦρεν ὁ ποι-
μὴν τὴν χεῖρα αὐτῆς, πα-
τάξει αὐτά, καὶ ἡ χεὶρ αὐ-
τῆς ἔση ἄνω. Καὶ ἔβλεψα
εἰς τὸν χεῖμαρρον ποταμόν,
καὶ εἶδον τὰς ἐρίφους καὶ τὰ
στόματα αὐτῶν ἐπικείμενα τῷ
ὕδατι, καὶ μὴ πίνοντα.

XIX. Καὶ εἶδον γυναῖκα
καταβαίνουσαν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄρει-
νης, καὶ εἶπέ μοι· Ἀνδρῶπε,
πῶ πορεύῃ; καὶ εἶπον αὐτῇ·
Μαῖαν ζητῶ Ἑβραίαν ἐξ Ἰσ-
ραὴλ. Καὶ εἶπέ μοι· Πῶ
ἔστιν ἡ γενῶσα; καὶ εἶπον·
Ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ, καὶ μεμνη-
σευμένη μοί ἔστιν. Εἶπε δὲ
ἡ μαῖα· Οὐκ ἔστι σε γυνή;
καὶ εἶπεν Ἰωσήφ· Μαρία ἔστι
ἡ ἀνατραφεῖσα εἰς τὰ ἁγία
τῶν ἀγίων, ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ Κυρίου,
καὶ ἐκκληρωσάμενη αὐτήν, καὶ
ἐκ ἔστι με γυνή· ἀλλὰ σύλ-

ple sitting around it, but their
hands were upon the table (and
did not move to eat). They
who had meat in their mouths
did not eat: they who lifted
their hands up to their heads
did not draw them back: and
they who lift them up to their
mouths did not put any thing
in; but all their faces were
fixed upwards. And I beheld
the sheep dispersed, and yet the
sheep stood still; and the shep-
herd lift up his hand to smite
them, and his hand continued
up. And I looked unto a river,
and saw the kids with their
mouths close to the water, and
touching it, but they did not
drink.

XIX. Then I beheld a wo-
man coming down from the
mountains, and she said to me,
Where art thou going, O
man? And I said to her, I go
to enquire for a Hebrew mid-
wife. She replied to me,
Where is the woman that is
to be delivered? And I an-
swered, In the cave, and she
is betrothed to me. Then
said the midwife, Is she not
thy wife? Joseph answered,
It is Mary, who was educated
in the Holy of Holies, in the
house of the Lord, and she
fell to me by lot, and is not
my

λημμα ἔχει ἐκ πνεύματος
 ἁγίου. Καὶ εἶπεν ἡ μαῖα·
 Τὸτο ἀληθές ἐστι; καὶ εἶπεν
 αὐτῇ· Δεῦρο καὶ εἰδέ. Καὶ
 ἐπορεύθη ἡ μαῖα μετ' αὐτῆς,
 καὶ ἔστη ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ. Καὶ
 ἦν νεφέλη φωτεινὴ ἐπισκιά-
 ζουσα τὸ σπηλαῖον, καὶ εἶπεν
 ἡ μαῖα· Ἐμεγαλύνθη ἡ ψυ-
 χή μου σήμερον, ὅτι εἶδον οἱ
 ὀφθαλμοί μου παραδόξα, καὶ
 ὅτι τῷ Ἰσραὴλ σωτηρία ἐγεν-
 νήθη. Παραχρῆμα δὲ ἡ νε-
 φέλη ἐγένετο· φῶς μέγα ἐν τῷ
 σπηλαίῳ, ὥστε τὰς ὀφθαλμοὺς
 αὐτῶν μὴ φέρειν· καὶ κατ'
 ὀλίγον τὸ φῶς ἐκεῖ ὑπεέλ-
 λετο, ἕως ἂν τὸ βρέφος ἐφά-
 νη, καὶ ἔλαβε μασθλὸν ἐκ τῆς
 μητρὸς αὐτῆς Μαρίας. Καὶ
 ἐνεβόησεν ἡ μαῖα, καὶ εἶπεν·
 Ὡς μεγάλη αὐτὴ ἡ ἡμέρα,
 ὅτι εἶδον οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου και-
 ρὸν θάνατος. Καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἡ
 μαῖα ἀπὸ τῆς σπηλαίας, καὶ
 ἀπήντησεν αὐτῇ Σαλώμη, καὶ
 εἶπεν αὐτῇ ἡ μαῖα· Σαλώμη,
 Σαλώμη, καινὸν σοι θάνατος
 ἐξηγήσομαι· παρδένος ἐγέν-
 ησεν, ὃ ἐχρῶν ἡ φύσις αὐ-
 τῆς. Εἶπε δὲ Σαλώμη· Ζῇ
 Κύριος ὁ Θεός μου, ὅτι ἐὰν
 μὴ κατανοήσω τὴν φύσιν αὐ-

my wife, but has conceived
 by the Holy Ghost. *The
 midwife said, Is this true?*
He answered, Come and see.
 And the midwife went along
 with him, and stood in the
 cave. Then a bright cloud
 overshadowed the cave, and
 the midwife said, *This day my
 soul is magnified, for mine eyes
 have seen surprising things,
 and salvation is brought forth
 to Israel.* But on a sudden
 the cloud became a great
 light in the cave, so that
 their eyes could not bear it,
 but the light gradually de-
 creased until the infant ap-
 peared, and sucked the breast
 of his mother Mary. Then
 the midwife cried out, and
 said, *How glorious a day is
 this, wherein mine eyes have
 seen this extraordinary sight!*
 And the midwife went out
 from the cave, and Salome
 met her, and the midwife said
 to her; *Salome, Salome, I
 will tell you a most surprising
 thing which I saw; a virgin
 hath brought forth, which is
 a thing contrary to nature.*
 To which Salome replied, *As
 the Lord my God liveth, unless
 I receive particular proof of
 this matter, I will not believe*

τῆς, ἔ μὴ πιστεύσω, ὅτι ἡ *that a virgin hath brought*
παρθένος ἐγέννησε. *forth.*

xx. Ἦλθε δὲ Σαλώμη,
καὶ εἶπεν ἡ μαῖα· Μαρία,
σχημάτισον σεαυτὴν, ἔ γὰρ
μικρὸς ἄγων περικείται περὶ
σε. Καὶ ἐσημείωσατο Σα-
λώμη, καὶ ἐξηράνθη ἡ χεὶρ
αὐτῆς, καὶ ἠλάλαξε πικρῶς,
καὶ εἶπεν· Οὐαὶ τῇ ἀνομίᾳ
μου, ὅτι ἔξεπείρασά με ζῶντα
Θεόν· ἰδὲ γὰρ ἡ χεὶρ μου
ἀποπίπτει ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. Καὶ
κλίνασα Σαλώμη τὰ γόνατα
αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην, εἶ-
πεν· Ὡς Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων
μου, μνήσθητί μου, σπέρμα
γὰρ Ἀβραάμ, καὶ Ἰσαὰκ,
καὶ Ἰακώβ, εἰμὶ ἐγώ. μὴ
παραδειγματίσης με τοῖς υἱοῖς
Ἰσραὴλ, ἀλλὰ ἀπόδος με
τοῖς γονεῦσί μου. Εὖ σὺ οἶ-
δας, δέσποτα, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ σῶ-
νόματι τὰς θεραπείας ἐπι-
τέλεις, καὶ τὸν μισθόν μου
παρά σε ἐλάβανον. Καὶ
ἰδὲ ἄγγελος Κυρίου ἐπέστη
πρὸς Σαλώμην, λέγων· Ἐπή-
κουσε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τῆς δεή-
σεώς σου, πρόσταξον τῇ χειρί
σου τὸ παιδίον, καὶ βάσασον
αὐτὸ, καὶ ἔσται σοι εἰς σωτη-
ρίαν. Λαβῶσα δὲ χαρὰν με-

xx. Then Salome went in,
and the midwife said, *Mary,*
show thyself, for a great con-
troversy is risen concerning
thee; and Salome received
satisfaction; but her hand was
withered, and she groaned
bitterly, and said, Wo to me,
because of mine iniquity; for I
have tempted the living God,
and my hand is ready to drop
off. Then Salome made her
supplication to the Lord, and
said, O God of my fathers, re-
member me, for I am the seed
of Abraham, and Isaac, and
Jacob; make me not a re-
proach among the children of
Israel, but restore me (sound)
to my parents, for thou well
knowest, O Lord, that I have
performed (many) offices of
charity in thy name, and have
received my reward from thee.
Upon this an angel of the
Lord stood by Salome, and
said, *The Lord God hath heard*
thy prayer, reach forth thy
hand to the child, and carry
him, and by that means thou
shalt be restored. Salome fil-
led with exceeding joy went
to the child, and said, *I will*

touch

γάλῃν Σαλώμῃ, προσῆλθε τῷ
 παιδίῳ, λέγῃσα· Ἀφομαὶ
 αὐτῷ· καὶ διενοήθη Σαλώμῃ
 προσκυνῆσαι τῷ παιδίῳ, καὶ
 εἶπε Σαλώμῃ· Βασιλεὺς οὗτος
 μέγας ἐγενήθη τῷ Ἰσραήλ.
 Παραχρῆμα δὲ ἰδόθῃ Σα-
 λώμῃ. Ἐξῆλθε δὲ ἡ μαῖα ἐκ
 τῆ σπηλαίᾳ δειδικαιωμένη.
 Καὶ ἰδὲ φωνὴ γέγονε πρὸς
 Σαλώμην· Μὴ ἀναγγέλης
 ὅσα σὺ εἶδες παράδοξα, ἕως
 ἂν ἔλθῃ τὸ παιδίον εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα. Καὶ ἐκπορεύθη Σα-
 λώμῃ δειδικαιωμένη.

XXI. Ἰωσήφ δὲ ἡτοιμάσθη
 τῇ ἐξελθεῖν· θόρυβος γὰρ
 γέγονεν ἐν Βηθλεὲμ, ὅτι παρ-
 εγένοντο μάγοι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν,
 λέγοντες· Πῶ ἐστὶν ὁ βασιλεὺς
 τῶν Ἰουδαίων γεννηθεὶς; εἶδο-
 μεν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν ἀστέρα ἐν τῇ
 ἀνατολῇ, καὶ ἤλθομεν προσ-
 κυνῆσαι αὐτῷ. Ἀνέσας δὲ
 Ἡρώδης ἰταράχθη λίαν, καὶ
 πένμφας ὑπηρέτας ἐπὶ τὰς
 μάγας καὶ ἱερεῖς, ἀνέκρινεν
 αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ πραιτωρίῳ, λέ-
 γων αὐτοῖς· Πῶ γέγραπται
 ὑμῖν περὶ τῆ βασιλείας Χριστοῦ,
 ἢ πῶ γενῶνται; τότε λέγα-

*touch him; and she purposed
 to worship him, for she said,
 This is a great king, which is
 born in Israel. And straight-
 way Salome was cured. Then
 the midwife went out of the
 cave, being approved (by
 God), and lo! a voice came
 to Salome, Declare not the
 strange things which thou hast
 seen, till the child shall come to
 Jerusalem. So Salome also
 departed approved (by God).*

XXI. Then Joseph was
 preparing to go away, be-
 cause there arose a great dis-
 order in Bethlehem by the
 coming of^a some wise men
 from the east, who said,
*Where is the king of the Jews
 born? for we have seen his star
 in the east, and are come to
 worship him.* When Herod
 heard this, he was exceed-
 ingly troubled, and sent mes-
 sengers to the wise men, and
 to the priests, and enquired
 of them in the town-hall, and
 said unto them, *Where have
 you it written concerning
 Christ the king, or where
 should he be born?* Then they

^a Matt. ii. 1, &c.

σω αὐτῷ· ἐν Βηθλεὲμ τῆς
 Ἰουδαίας· ὅτως γὰρ γέγραπ-
 ται, Καὶ σὺ, Βηθλεὲμ, γῆ
 Ἰούδα, ἥδιστα ἐλαχίστη εἰ ἐν
 τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν Ἰούδα· ἐκ σοῦ
 γὰρ μοι ἐξελεύσεται ἡγούμενος,
 ὅστις ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαόν μου τὸν
 Ἰσραὴλ. Καὶ ἀπολύσας τὰς
 ἀρχιερεῖς ἀνέκρινεν αὐτὰς ἐν
 τῷ πραιτωρίῳ τὰς μάγους, λέ-
 γων αὐτοῖς· Τί εἶδετε σημεῖον
 ἐπὶ τὸν τεχθέντα βασιλέα ;
 οἱ δὲ εἶπον αὐτῷ· Εἶδομεν
 ἀστὲρα παμμεγέθη, λαμπρὰ
 ἐν τοῖς ἀστροῖς τῷ ἑρανῷ, καὶ
 ἀμβλύοντα τὰς ἄλλας ἀστέ-
 ρας, ὥστε μὴ φαίνεσθαι αὐ-
 τές· καὶ ἐγνώμεν ὅτι ὁ βα-
 σιλεὺς μέγας ἐγεννήθη ἐν τῷ
 Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ διὰ τῆτο ἤλ-
 θομεν προσκυνῆσαι αὐτόν.
 Εἶπε δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἡρώδης· Πο-
 ρεύσιντες ἀναζητήσατε ἀσφα-
 λῶς, καὶ ἐὰν εὑρετε ἀπαγ-
 γείλατέ μοι, ὅπως καὶ γὰρ ἐλ-
 θὼν προσκυνήσω αὐτόν. Ἐξ-
 ελθόντες δὲ οἱ μάγοι ἐπορεύ-
 οντο· καὶ ἰδὼς ἀστὴρ, ὃν εἶδον ἐν
 τῇ ἀνατολῇ, προσῆγεν αὐτὰς,
 ἵως ἃ ἐλθὼν ἔξη ἐπάνω τῷ
 σπηλαίῳ, ἃ ἦν τὰ παιδία·
 μετὰ Μαρίας τῆς μητρός αὐ-
 τῶ. Καὶ ἐξέβαλον ἀπὸ τῶν

say unto him, *In Bethlehem
 of Judea; for thus it is writ-
 ten, And thou Bethlehem, in
 the land of Judah, art not the
 least among the princes of Ju-
 dah, for out of thee shall come a
 ruler, who shall rule my people
 Israel.* And having sent away
 the Chief-priests, he en-
 quired of the wise men in the
 town-hall, and said unto them,
*What sign was it ye saw con-
 cerning the king that is born?*
 They answered him, *We saw
 an extraordinary large star
 shining among the stars of bea-
 ven, and so out-shined all the
 other stars, as that they became
 not visible, and we knew
 (hereby) that a great king
 was born in Israel, and there-
 fore we are come to worship
 him.* Then said Herod to
 them, *Go and make diligent
 enquiry, and if ye find the
 child, bring me word again,
 that I may come and worship
 him also.* So the wise men
 went forth, and behold, the
 star which they saw in the
 east went before them, till it
 came and stood over the cave
 where the young child was
 with Mary his mother. Then
 they brought forth out of
 their treasures, and offered

Θησαυρῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ προσ-
ήνεγκαν αὐτῷ χρυσόν, καὶ
λίβανον, καὶ σμύρναν· καὶ
χρηματισθέντες κατ' ὄναρ
ὑπὸ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ, μὴ ἀνα-
κάμψαι πρὸς Ἡρώδην εἰς τὴν
Ἰουδαίαν, δι' ἄλλης ὁδῆ ἀνε-
χώρησαν εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐ-
τῶν.

XXII. Γυνὲς δὲ Ἡρώδης
ὅτι ἐνεπαίχθη ὑπὸ τῶν μά-
γων, καὶ ὀργισθεῖς, ἐπεμψε
φονευτὰς, κελεύων αὐτοῖς ἀ-
νελεῖν πάντα τὰ βρέφη ἀπὸ
διετῆς, καὶ κατωτέρω. Ἀκέ-
σας δὲ Μαρία, ὅτι τὰ βρέφη
ἀναιρῶνται, φοβηθεῖσα ἔλα-
βετο τὸ παιδίον, καὶ ἐσπαρ-
γάνωσεν αὐτό, καὶ ἔθηκεν
αὐτὸ ἐν φάτῃ βοῶν, διότι ἐκ
ἦν αὐτοῖς τόπος ἐν τῷ κατα-
λύματι. Ἡ δὲ Ἐλισάβετ
ἀκέσασα ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς αὐτῆς
μέλλει ζητεῖσθαι, λαβῶσα
αὐτὸν ἀνέβη εἰς τὴν ὄρεινὴν,
καὶ περιεβλέπετο τόπον, ἐν ᾧ
ἀποκρύψει αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐκ ἦν
τόπος ἀπόκρυφος. Καὶ γε-
νάξασα λέγει· Ὁρος τῆ Θεῆς,

unto him gold, and frankin-
cense, and myrrh. And being
warned in a dream by an an-
gel, that they should not re-
turn to Herod through Judea,
they departed into their own
country by another way.

XXII. Then Herod* per-
ceiving that he was mocked
by the wise men, and being
very angry, commanded cer-
tain men to go and to kill all
the children (that were in
Bethlehem) from two years
old, and under. But Mary
hearing that the children were
to be killed, being under much
fear, took the child, and wrap-
ped him up in swaddling
clothes, and laid him in an
ox-manger^b, because there
was no room for them in the
inn. Elizabeth also, hearing
that her son (John) was about
to be searched for, took him
and went up unto the moun-
tains, and looked around for
a place to hide him; and
there was no secret place to
be found. Then she groaned
within herself, and said, *O
mountain of the Lord, receive*

* Matt. ii. 16.

^b Luke ii. 7. is alluded to, though misapplied as to time.

ἔδει μῆτέρα μετὰ τέκνῃ· ἡ γὰρ ἐδύνατο ἢ Ἐλισάβετ προσαναβῆναι· καὶ παραχρῆμα διεσχίσθη τὸ ὄρος ἐκεῖνο, καὶ ἦν διαφαίνων αὐτοῖς ἄγγελος Κυρίου, καὶ διαφυλάττων αὐτούς.

the mother with the child, (for Elizabeth could not climb up), and instantly the mountain was divided (and received them), and there appeared to them an angel of the Lord to preserve them.

XXIII. Ὁ δὲ Ἡρώδης ζητήσας τὸν Ἰωάννην, ἀπέστειλεν ὑπηρέτας πρὸς Ζαχαρίαν ὄντα ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Πᾶς ἀπεκρυψας τὸν υἱόν σου; Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· Ἐγὼ λειτουργὸς ὑπάρχω τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ προσεδρεύω τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ, καὶ πόθεν γινώσκω πᾶς ἐστὶν ὁ υἱός μου; πορευθέντες δὲ ὑπηρέται ἀνῆγγελαν τῷ Ἡρώδῃ πάντα. Ὁργισθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἡρώδης εἶπε· Μὴ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτῆς μέλλει βασιλεύειν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ; καὶ πείψας τὰς ὑπηρέτας αὐτῆς πρὸς Ζαχαρίαν εἶπε· Εἰπέ ἡμῖν τὸ ἀληθές, πᾶς ἐστὶν ὁ υἱός σου; οἶδας γὰρ ὅτι τὸ αἷμά σου ὑπὸ τὴν χεῖρά μου ἐστίν. Οἱ δὲ ὑπηρέται ἀπελθόντες ἀνῆγγελαν αὐτῷ ταῦτα πάντα· καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ζαχαρίας· Μάρτυς εἰμὶ τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ἰὰν χεῖρή μου τὸ αἷμα, τὸ πνεῦμά μου ὁ Θεὸς λήψ-

XXIII. But Herod made search after John, and sent servants to Zacharias, when he was (ministering) at the altar, and said unto him, *Where hast thou hid thy son?* He replied to them, *I am a minister of God, and a servant at the altar: how should I know where my son is?* So the servants went back, and told Herod the whole; at which he was incensed, and said, *Is not this son of his like to be king in Israel?* He sent therefore again his servants to Zacharias, saying, *Tell us the truth, where is thy son, for you know that your life is in my hand.* So the servants went and told him all this; but Zacharias replied to them, *I am a witness (or martyr) for God, and if ye shed my blood, the Lord will receive my soul. Besides (know) that*

ye

εται· πλὴν ὅτι αἷμα ἐκ-
 χεῖτε ἀθῶον. Παρὰ τὰ πρό-
 θυρα τῆ ναῶ καὶ τῆ θυσι-
 αστηρίῃ, καὶ περὶ τὸ διά-
 φραγμα ἐφονεύθη Ζαχαρίας·
 οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν
 τότε ἐφονεύθη.

XXIV. Ἀλλὰ τῇ ὥρᾳ τῇ
 ἀσπασμῷ ἦλθον οἱ ἱερεῖς, καὶ
 οὐκ ἀπήντησεν αὐτοῖς Ζαχα-
 ρίας κατὰ τὸ ἔθος, ὡς εὐλόγει
 αὐτούς. Καὶ ἴσαντο οἱ ἱερεῖς
 προσδοκῶντες τὸν Ζαχαρίαν,
 τῷ ἀσπάζεσθαι αὐτούς· χρο-
 νίζοντες δὲ αὐτῷ, τολμήσας εἰς
 ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ ἁγί-
 ασμα τῆ θυσιαστηρίῃ, καὶ εἶδε
 τὸ αἷμα κείμενον καὶ πε-
 πηγός. Καὶ ἰδὲ φωνὴ λέ-
 γουσα, Ζαχαρίας πεφόνευται,
 καὶ οὐκ ἐξηλειφθήσεται τὸ αἷ-
 μα αὐτοῦ, ἕως ἃ ἔλθῃ ὁ ἐκδι-
 κῶν. Ὁ δὲ ἀκέσας τῆ λόγῃ
 ἐφοβήθη, καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἀνήγ-
 γειλε τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν, ἃ εἶδε καὶ
 ἤκουσε· καὶ εἰσῆλθον καὶ εἶδον
 τὸ γεγονός. Τὰ τε φαντώ-
 ματα τῆ ναῶ ὠλόλυξαν, αὐτὰ
 δὲ περιέσχίσαντο ἀπὸ αἰῶθεν
 ἕως νῦν. Καὶ τὸ σῶμα
 αὐτοῦ οὐκ εὑρον, ἀλλὰ τὸ αἷμα
 αὐτοῦ μόνον, καὶ γενόμενον ὡς
 εἰ λίθος. Καὶ ἀπελθόντες

ye shed innocent blood. How-
 ever Zacharias was murdered
 in the entrance of the temple
 and altar, and about the par-
 tition; but the children of Is-
 rael knew not when he was
 killed.

XXIV. Then at the hour
 of salutation the priests went
 (into the temple), but Zacha-
 rias did not according to cus-
 tom meet them and bless
 them; yet they still continued
 waiting for him to salute
 them; and when they found
 he did not in a long time
 come, one of them ventured
 into the holy place where the
 altar was, and he saw blood
 lying upon the ground con-
 gealed; when, behold, a voice
 from heaven said, *Zacharias
 is murdered, and his blood
 shall not be wiped away, until
 the revenger (of his blood)
 come.* But when he heard
 this, he was afraid, and went
 forth and told the priests what
 he had seen and heard; and
 they all went in, and saw the
 fact. Then the roofs of the
 temple howled, and were
 rent from the top to the bot-
 tom: and they could not find
 the body; but only blood made
 (hard) like stone. And they

went

ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ λαῷ, ὅτι Ζα-
χαρίας πεφόνευται· καὶ ἡ-
κισαν πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆ
Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἐπένθησαν αὐ-
τὸν, καὶ ἐκόψαντο αὐτὸν τρεῖς
ἡμέρας. Καὶ ἐβελύσαντο οἱ
ἱερεῖς, τίνα ἀναστήσουσιν εἰς τὸν
τόπον αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἔβαλε Συ-
μεὼν καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς κλήρας αὐ-
τῶν, ἀνέβη δὲ ὁ κληρὸς ἐπὶ
Συμεῶν· ἔτος γὰρ ἦν χρημα-
τισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆ ἀγίας πνεύμα-
τος μὴ ἰδεῖν θάνατον, ἕως ἂν
ἴδῃ τὸν Χριστὸν Κυρίῳ ἐν σαρκὶ
ἐληλυθότα.

went away, and told the peo-
ple, that *Zacharias was mur-
dered*, and all the tribes of
Israel heard thereof, and
mourned for him, and la-
mented three days. Then
the priests took counsel toge-
ther concerning a person to
succeed him. And Simeon
and the other priests cast lots,
and the lot fell upon Simeon,
for he had been assured by
the holy Spirit, *that he should
not die, till he had seen Christ
come in the flesh*.*

XXV. Ἐγὼ δὲ Ἰάκωβος
ἔγραψα τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην
ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις· γενομένης δὲ
θούρης συνέσειλα ἐγὼ ἑμαυ-
τὸν ἐν τόπῳ ἐρήμῳ, ἕως ἃ ἔτε-
λεύτησεν Ἡρώδης· καὶ κατε-
παύθη ὁ θόρυβος ἐν Ἱεροσο-
λύμοις. Τό τε λοιπὸν ἤμην
δοξάζων τὸν Θεόν, τὸν δόντα
μοι ταυτὴν σοφίαν τῆ γρα-
φῆς ὑμῖν τοῖς πνευματικοῖς,
καὶ ἀγαπῶσι τὸν Θεόν, ᾧ ἡ
δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τὰς
αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, Ἀμήν.

XXV. I JAMES WROTE
THIS HISTORY IN JERUSA-
LEM; AND WHEN THE DIS-
TURBANCE WAS, I RETIRED
INTO A DESERT PLACE, UN-
TIL THE DEATH OF HEROD.
AND THE DISTURBANCE
CEASED AT JERUSALEM.
THAT WHICH REMAINS IS,
THAT I GLORIFY GOD THAT
HE HATH GIVEN ME SUCH
WISDOM TO WRITE UNTO
YOU WHO ARE SPIRITUAL,
AND WHO LOVE GOD; TO
WHOM (BE ASCRIBED) GLO-
RY AND DOMINION FOR E-
VER AND EVER, AMEN.

* Luke ii. 26.

C H A P. XVI.

The Gospel of the Nativity of Mary extant in the primitive Ages of Christianity, and received by several of the antient Hereticks. The present Gospel different from the old one. It went heretofore under the Name of St. Matthew. Is for the most Part the same as the Protevangelion of James.

HAVING thus produced these two famous Apocryphal pieces, I shall now offer to the reader whatsoever I have observed considerable, relating to them, under the following distinct heads.

OBS. I. *In the early ages of Christianity (viz. the third, and even the second century) there was a book published, intitled, Of the Nativity of Mary. This is evident from the places of Epiphanius and Austin referred to at the bottom of the page^a.*

OBS. II. *This book was received by several of the antient Hereticks of that time, as a genuine and authentick monument of the Christian religion. Out of this the Gnosticks borrowed, and by this they supported their monstrous and absurd ideas of Christianity^b; of which more hereafter. Out of this the Manichees, and particularly Faustus, after having endeavoured to prove, that Christ was not the Son of God till after his baptism, endeavours, contrary to all the Scriptures both of the Old and New Testament, to prove, that Christ was not of the progeny of David, and tribe of Judah, because the Virgin herself (according to this book) was not of this tribe, but of the tribe of Levi, because her father was a priest whose name was Joachim^c. Out of this the Collyridians seem to have gathered and established their ridiculous doctrine concerning the necessity of worshipping and offering sacrifices to the Virgin Mary,*

^a Hæres. 26. §. 12. et lib. 23.
contr. Faust. Manich. c. 4 and 9.
toph. opp. 6.

^b Epiph. ibid.

^c Aust. Lib. cit. c. 4.

whom they seem to have imagined born of a virgin (as our Saviour was born of her), by means of this book *.

OBS. III. The book of the *Nativity of Mary* suffered many alterations; and the antient copies of it were very different from the present copy, which I have above published out of Jerome's works. This is evident from the small fragments of it, which are in Epiphanius and Austin; for whereas in that place above cited Epiphanius has produced a passage out of it, concerning the occasion of the death of Zacharias, there is not in the present Gospel of the *Nativity of Mary* any mention or footsteps of it. The history I refer to is as follows, viz.

" That it was the occasion of the death of Zacharias in the
 " Temple, that when he had seen a vision, he through surprise
 " was willing to disclose it, and his mouth was stopped. That
 " which he saw was at the time of his offering incense; and it
 " was a man standing in the form of an ass. When he was
 " gone out, and had a mind to speak thus to the people, *Woe*
 " *unto you, whom do ye worship?* He who had appeared to
 " him in the Temple took away the use of his speech. Af-
 " terwards when he recovered it, and was able to speak, he
 " declared this to the Jews, and they slew him. They add
 " (viz. the Gnosticks in this book), that on this very account
 " the High-priest was appointed by their lawgiver (by God
 " to Moses) to carry little bells, that whensoever he went into
 " the Temple to sacrifice, he, whom they worshipped, hear-
 " ing the noise of the bells, might have time enough to hide
 " himself, and not be caught in that ugly shape and figure."

Nothing of this is in the present Gospel of the *Nativity of Mary*: wherefore the antient and the present one are not the same. This is further evident from this manifest contradiction, which I have observed to be between them, viz. That whereas the old Gospel of the *Generation of Mary*, which the Manichees made use of, asserted, that *the father of Mary, viz. Joachim, was of the tribe of Levi, and a priest*, from whence Faustus argues (as above), that Christ was not of the tribe of Judah; the present Gospel of the *Birth of Mary* expressly asserts

* Epiphan. Hæres. 79. §. 5.

the contrary, that the Virgin sprang from the race and family of David, and that her father's family was of Nazareth in Galilee, and her mother's of Bethlehem. (See Ch. I.)

OBS. IV. *The Gospel of the Birth of Mary formerly went under the name of St. Matthew, or was looked upon as his composition.* This is manifest from the two Latin Epistles in Jerome's works, which I have above produced. I know indeed, that learned men have generally agreed to reject these Epistles, as not being Jerome's. Thus Sixtus Senensis^a, Coke^b, Rivet^c, Cave^d, and others of this sort of writers; to whom if I should in this point subscribe, yet as I dare venture to say the letters are very antient, so it is not likely the author of them would venture upon a forgery of such a fact, in which every one was able to confute him. He says, this Gospel went under the name of St. Matthew, nor does he at all pretend to believe it was really so, but on the contrary ascribes it to Seleucus the Manichee, as its author, and reckons it among the tricks and artifices of the Hereticks; and though he supposes it to contain some few true accounts, yet he also supposes it to be in a great measure the fiction of that Heretick. From all which it is evident it would no way serve his purpose to say, this book went under St. Matthew's name, unless the fact was really so.

QBS. V. *The Gospel of the Birth of Mary is for the most part contained in, or the same with, the Protevangelion of James.* This will be at first view evident to any one, who will be at the pains to compare them together. It is true indeed, the *Protevangelion* proceeds farther in the history than the Gospel of Mary, and adds several remarkable stories concerning Joseph's *drinking the water of trial*, their journey to Bethlehem, the clouds and birds and all things else standing still at our Saviour's birth, the story of the midwife, the coming of the wise men, &c. but as far as the history reaches in the Gospel

^a Biblioth. Sanct. lib. 2. p. 83.

^c Critic. Sacr. lib. 4. c. 3. p.

^b Centuria quorun. vet. Script.

433.

p. 152.

^d Hist. Lit. vol. 1. p. 225.

of *Mary*, viz. to the birth of Christ, it is so much the same with that in the *Protevangelion of James*, that I think there can be no room to doubt, but that one of them was made out of the other.

C H A P. XVII.

There are several Contradictions in the present Gospel of Mary to the Protevangelion of James. Instances of this. The Protevangelion of James different from, and contrary to, the antient Gospel of Mary. Several of the Relations of the Gospel of Mary, and the Protevangelion, have been credited by the Antients.

OBS. VI. *THAT there are several passages and circumstances in the present Gospel of Mary, which are directly contrary to the relations or accounts of the present Protevangelion of James. This observation seems to be of some considerable importance, because it undeniably proves one of these two antient pieces to be Apocryphal, and withal shews us how ridiculous and unhappy the Hereticks were in their most celebrated forgeries. For the support of the observation I offer the following instances.*

Out of the Protevangelion of James.

1. The High-priest's name, who rejected Joseph's offering, was Reuben, Chap. I.

2. Mary dismissed from the Temple service at twelve years of age, Chap. VIII.

3. Only widowers were appointed by the Angel to be summoned, Chap. VIII.

Out of the Gospel of the Birth of Mary.

1. The High-priest's name was Issachar, Chap. II.

2. Mary was not dismissed till she was more than fourteen years old, Chap. VII.

3. All sorts of marriageable persons are summoned, Chap. VII.

4. The dove proceeded out of Joseph's rod, and flew upon his head, Chap. IX.

5. The Angel appears to Mary, when she was gone forth to draw water, Chap. XI.

6. Mary received the Angel with great fear and trembling, Ibid.

4. The dove descended from Heaven, and flew upon Joseph's rod, Chap. VIII.

5. The Angel appears to Mary in her chamber, Chap. IX.

6. Mary (being accustomed to such visions) was not surprised, nor terrified at the Angel's appearance, Ibid.

These are some of those many differences and contradictions which may be observed in these two Apocryphal Gospels.

Obs. VII. The Protevangelion of James is *different from, and in some things contrary to, the antient Gospel of Mary, which was used by the Gnosticks, and which Epiphanius saw.* I have above proved, Obs. III. that the *present Gospel of the Birth of Mary* is different from the *antient one*, under that title, and hope my present remark will appear as just to those who will consider, that the accounts given in the *Protevangelion* and the *old Gospel of Mary*, concerning the *death or murder of Zacharias* (John Baptist's father), are *irreconcilably different, and contrary to each other.* The account in the *old Gospel of Mary*, as it is preserved by Epiphanius, concerning his murder, you have above, Obs. III. viz. that he was slain by the Jews, because he told them a vision he had seen in the Temple of the object of their worship, which was a man in the form of an ass: but the relation of his murder in the *Protevangelion* is quite different, viz. that he was murdered by Herod, because he would not discover where his son John was, who that tyrant feared, would be king of Israel. See Chap. XXIII.

Obs. VIII. *Several of the accounts or relations of the Gospel of the Birth of Mary, and the Protevangelion, have been credited by some antient Christian writers.* To omit many others,

others, I shall instance only in the two following, which are the most remarkable, viz.

1. That in the *Protevangelion* (Chap. XXIII.) concerning *Herod's murder of Zacharias, father of John the Baptist, at the entrance of the Temple by the altar*. This fact, though no where related in sacred history, is mentioned and credited by Tertullian^a, Petrus Alexandrinus^b, Origen^c, Epiphanius^d, Theophylact^e, and others. I confess they do not all relate it with the same circumstances, which are in the *Protevangelion*; yet they so far all agree, as that it is evident they respected the same story. So Tertullian, *Zacharias was killed between the altar and the Temple, and the drops of his blood made indelible impressions on the stones*. The *Protevangelion*, *Zacharias was killed at the entrance of the Temple, and his blood was made hard as stone*. The account of Petrus Alexandrinus perfectly agrees. Origen and Theophylact endeavour to prove, that the Zacharias mentioned by our Saviour, Matt. xxiii. 35. was the father of John the Baptist, who was slain in the Temple, though according to them it was by the Jews for this reason, *because he would place the Virgin Mary after our Saviour's birth in a certain apartment in the Temple, which was proper to virgins, and only such*. Epiphanius, or whoever was the author of that old Book *De Vitâ Prophet.* tells us, *that Zacharias, the son of Joiada, and father of John the Baptist, was slain by Herod between the altar and the Temple, and that his blood was spilt upon the threshold of the Temple*. An impartial reflection upon all these places will undeniably evidence, that this story of Zacharias, which is in the *Protevangelion*, was very much known and credited by the ancients: I shall only add, that notwithstanding the common opinion of the Fathers, that Zacharias mentioned by our Sa-

^a Scorpiac. advers. Gnosticos. c. 8.

^b He lived in the latter end of the third century. This is extant in that part of his Treatise of Repentance, which remains. Vid. Cave Hist. Liter. p. xii. & Hammond in Matt. xxiii. 35.

^c Homil. xxvi. in Matth. xxiii. fol. 49.

^d De Vit. Prophet. Vol. II. p. 250. It is questioned by Reignolds, Coke, and Rivet, whether this book was written by Epiphanius, though Bellarmine and others assert it was.

^e In loc. Matth. cit.

viour (Matt. xxiii. 35.) was the father of John the Baptist, yet most of our later criticks have thought otherwise, and that the person intended is *that Zacharias whom the people stoned in the court of the House of the Lord in the days of Joash*, 2 Chron. xxiv. 20, 22. But how they endeavour to prove this, and solve the difficulties that attend it, I shall not enquire. He who has a mind to examine the matter critically, may see it largely and clearly treated of in Grotius's annotations on the place of Matthew, and his two constant followers, Dr. Hammond and Dr. Whitby; but especially in Dr. Lightfoot's *Horæ Hebraicæ*, in loc.

2. *The next instance* which I assign of an account or relation in the *Protevangelion*, and *Gospel of Mary*, which was credited by many of the antient Christian writers, is that of *Joseph's being an old man when Mary was betrothed to him, his having had a former wife, and several children by her*. In the Gospel of the Birth of *Mary* (Ch. VIII.), Joseph is called *a person very far advanced in years*, and in the *Protevangelion* (Chap. IX.), he is introduced, saying, *I am an old man, and have children, but she is young, &c.* (and Ch. XVII.) *he takes care about the taxing of his children at Bethlehem*. Now this, I say, was a commonly received opinion among the antients. So Origen ^a, *There are some who say the brethren of Christ here mentioned (viz. Matt. xiii. 55.) were the children of Joseph by a former wife, who lived with him before Mary; and they are induced to this opinion by some passages in that which is intitled, The Gospel of Peter, or the Book of James*. Eusebius ^b tells us, *James was called the brother of Christ, because he was the son of Joseph by a former wife*.

Epiphanius has very frequently related this history. In one place he says (as Eusebius), *that James was the son of Joseph by a former wife, and therefore called the brother of Jesus* ^c. In another place ^d, *that Joseph was about fourscore years old when he married Mary, and had six children before that time by a former wife; and yet more particularly disputing against the*

^a Comment. in Matt. xiii. 55.
See the Greek passage above, Part II. Ch. XXXI. p. 329.

^b Hist. Eccles. lib. 2. c. 1.

^c Hæres. 29. Nazar. §. 3, 4.

^d Hæres. 51. Alogor. §. 10.

Antidicomarianitæ, who denied the perpetual virginity of Mary, he says ^a, Joseph was very old when he married Mary, and had been many years a widower; that he was the brother of Cleophas, the son of James, surnamed Panther; that he had his first wife of the tribe of Judah, and by her six children, viz. four sons and two daughters. His eldest son was James, surnamed Oblias ^b—That he begat him when he was about forty years old: after him he had another son named Jose, then Simeon and Judas, and then his two daughters Mary and Salome: after his wife's death he continued many years a widower, and about fourscore years old married Mary ^c. Besides Epiphanius, several other of the Greek Fathers have given into this same opinion, viz. Hilary ^d, Chrysostome, Cyrill, Euthymius, Theophylact, Oecumenius, and generally, as Bishop Pearson says ^e, all the Latin Fathers till Ambrose, and the Greeks afterward^f; from all which it is very evident, that the account of Joseph's age and family, which is in the Gospel of the Birth of Mary, and the *Protevangelion of James*, met with a very general credit among the antient Christians.

I might add here, that the learned annalist Cardinal Baronius, in his surprising apologies for the Virgin Mary (though he reject both these Apocryphal Gospels), cites many of the Fathers as giving credit to its accounts, and particularly as to that of her being brought at three years of age to the Temple, and devoted to its service (Evang. Mar. c. 4. 6. Protevang. Jacob. c. 7.), and that she continued there eleven years. He says it is testified by Euodius, Gregory Nyssene, Damascene, Germanus Bishop of Constantinople, Andreas Cretensis, George Bishop of Nicomedia, and others. See Apparat. ad Annal. Num. 48. and Casaubon's Reflections upon this Exercit. I. contr. Baron. ad eund. Numer.

^a Hæref. 78. Antidic. §. 7.

^b Oblias] This I also observe is said to be his surname in that Fragment of Hegesippus's Commentaries, which is preserved in Eusebius's Hist. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 23.

^c Epiph. Hæref. 78. §. 8.

^d In Matth. i.

^e On the Creed, p. 175. Art. III.

^f See a Collection of the Fathers' Opinions on this Head in Sixtus Senens. Biblioth. Sanct. l. 6. p. 455. Annot. 64. and in Valeſius Annot. in Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 2. c. 1.

C H A P. XVIII.

Another place in the Works of Epiphanius, where the Gospel of Mary seems referred to. The Author of the Gospel of Mary, and the Protevangelion of James, was a Jew. This proved by several Arguments.

Obs. IX. **B**ESIDES the former places cited out of Epiphanius, there are two more in his works, which seem to have plain reference, the one to the Protevangelion, the other to the Gospel of the Birth of Mary, and the Protevangelion. The places I mean are those in his Anacrotus, Vol. II. c. 60. and Orat. de Laudib. Virg. Mar. Vol. II. p. 292. In the first we read, that Joseph being an ancient widower, and having six children, viz. four sons, and two daughters, Κατ' ἀνάγκην τῶν κλήρων βαλλομένων ἐπὶ χήρους καὶ ἀγάμων καὶ ἑκαστὴν φυλὴν εἰς τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς παρθένας, διὰ τὸ ἀφιερῶσαι ἐν τῷ πατρὶ τὰς πρωτοτόκους παῖδας, ἄρρενας τε καὶ θηλείας; ἔλαβε κατὰ κλήρον τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον Μαρίαν, i. e. when lots were cast for the widowers, and unmarried persons of every tribe, that so it might be determined who should take the virgins which were in the Temple (for it was the custom that the first-born of both sexes should be devoted to the Temple-service), he (viz. Joseph) was obliged by the necessity of the lot to take the holy Virgin Mary, &c. This is exactly agreeable to what we read in the Protevangelion, c. 9. and the Gospel of Mary, c. 7, 8. Only I observe, that whereas the Protevangelion and Gospel of Mary contradict each other as to the persons summoned, they being according to the former only widowers, and according to the latter all unmarried persons (see Obs. VI. above), Epiphanius agrees with the latter. In the other place of Epiphanius we read, that Joachim and Anna were the names of the father and mother of the Virgin; that Joachim retired into the wilderness, and there prayed for issue; Mary retired into the garden, and put up the same petitions, and were both answered in the birth of Mary. All which is in the Protevangelion, c. 1, 2, 3, 4. and for

for the most part in the Gospel of the Birth of *Mary*, c. 2, 3, &c. ^a

Obs. X. *The Gospel of the Birth of Mary, and the Prot-evangelion, were the compofure of some Jew, or Hellenist.* I assert this equally of both, because I make no doubt they were originally one and the same compofure; which in process of time underwent so many alterations, interpolations, and additions, that they seem almost two different and distinct works. But of this more hereafter. I conjecture it was the compofure of some Jew, or Hellenist; and this seems to me probable from the following reasons.

1. *Because of the several Hebraisms that are visible and apparent therein.* Every one, who is acquainted with the orientals, particularly with Hebrew and Chaldee, will easily observe, that there are many Hebraisms in our Saviour's discourses, and the other writings of the New Testament; I mean, that the phraseology or idiom of innumerable passages in those writings is Hebrew, or Chaldee, though the words are Greek. The reason of which (as I have above shewn ^b) is the utter impossibility a man is under of avoiding the peculiarities of his native language, though he write in another. He cannot but conceive, and range his ideas in his old accustomed manner, and by virtue of that will, notwithstanding all his caution and care to avoid it, place his words in the same order. Thus the Apostles being Jews, though they wrote in Greek, frequently expressed themselves in the Hebrew *dialect*, and these expressions we call *Hebraisms*, and this language *Hellenistick* ^c; and of this sort I observe there are many instances in the books we have now under consideration, such as in the *Gospel of Mary* there are several instances remaining, notwithstanding it is a translation, as that Chap. III. in the *speech of the Angel to Jacobim*, "Videns vidit (Dominus) pudorem tuum," *The*

^a I am sensible this oration, ascribed to Epiphanius, is suspected to be spurious by Rivet, Critic. Sacr. l. 3. c. 29. Dr. Cave Hist. Liter. Vol. I. p. 186. and others, but I will not here enter into any dispute

concerning it.

^b Vol. I. Par. I. Chap. XIII. Prop. XIV. p. 81.

^c See Father Sim. Crit. Hist. of the New Test. Par. II. c. 27, 28.

Lord hath surely seen, or particularly regarded, your reproach; which conduplication of the verb is a most known way of speaking in Hebrew, to make the thing spoken more *certain and emphatical*; of which there are a thousand instances in the Hebrew Bible (see Glafs. Gram. Sacr. Lib. 3. Tract. 3. Can. 37. p. 628.), and several in the New Testament. So Act. vii. 34. we have the very same words which are in this Gospel, *וַיֵּדֹעַ וַיֵּדֹעַ* for that, Exod. iii. 7. *רָאָה רָאָה* *I have surely seen* *. Another plain Hebraism in the Gospel of the Birth of Mary, is that in the *same speech of the Angel*, speaking of Mary, “*Omne immundum neque manducabit, neque bibet;*” which, according to the meaning of the Hebrew idiom, and the unquestionable meaning of the place, I translate, *she shall neither eat nor drink any thing which is unclean*; but if it were not a Hebraism, and were to be taken according to the Latin idiom, it must be rendered, *she shall not eat nor drink every thing which is unclean*: but this form of speaking is common in the Jewish language, and it is a trite observation in Grammar, that a negative particle, such as *לֹא אֵין* &c. after *כֹּל* i. e. as it is in this instance, *non* after *omnis* signifies the same as *nullus*, i. e. *universal negative*, though every one knows in Latin and Greek this does not obtain, but is quite otherwise. He who has a mind to see instances of such Hebraisms, may find in Glaffius Gram. Sacr. Lib. 3. Tract. 5. Can. 19. several both out of the Old and New Testament.

As to the *Protevangelion*, it is so full of Hebraisms almost in every Chapter, that I can scarce believe any one, who is at

* For the sake of those who delight in such remarks, I observe from this place, what I dare undertake to shew from many others, that the English translators of the New Testament very much follow Beza's Latin in their translation; for whereas they always, where this phraseology or idiom of conduplicating the verb happens, make use of some adverb to denote the emphasis, as for *אָכַל אָכַל* Genes.

ii. 16. *Tbou mayest freely eat*, and Gen. ii. 17. for *מוֹת תָּמוּת* *Tbou shalt surely die*; and in the very place referred to, Exod. iii. 7. for *רָאָה רָאָה* *I have surely seen*; yet in the place of the Acts they translate the Hebraism literally, *I have seen, I have seen*, following according to their custom the translation of Beza, who awkwardly enough translates here, *Vidi, Vidi*.

all acquainted with the Hebrew language and idiom, but will presently acknowledge it to be the composure of some Hellenistick Jew. The instances are so frequent, that to make a collection of them would be almost to transcribe the whole book, and so very plain, that I suppose any impartial reader will judge it impossible for any one to imitate. The learned Henry Stephens, who very weakly conjectured that the *Protevangelion* was made by Postellus himself, who first published it, undertakes to prove to any one skilful in these things, that the *Hebraisms* are all counterfeit, and only imitations of the *Hebrew idiom*; but it is evident he would have been no more able to perform his undertaking, than he was right in his conjecture concerning the original of it, which will appear by what I shall presently observe to be without any foundation, and has accordingly been rejected by all learned men. I conclude then, that the style of the book demonstrates the author of it to have been either a Jew, or Hellenist. I might further argue this from the *great knowledge the author appears to have had of the Jewish customs*, which manifestly shews itself in every page. The whole contexture of the work is accommodated to the Jewish rites, and there is such a perpetual allusion to them, as incontestably proves the author to have been more acquainted with them, than the Christians ordinarily were, or indeed than any person can be supposed to be, who was not educated in the Jewish religion.

2. *The story in the Protevangelion of James, concerning the death of Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, seems to be borrowed from the Talmud, or the Talmudick account of the circumstances of the death of Zacharias, the son of Jehoiada, 2 Chron. xxiv. 20, &c. whence I conclude the author was a Jew.* To make this observation appear just, I shall first collect some circumstances in the death of Zacharias, which are related in the *Protevangelion*, and then shew how probable it is that they were borrowed or taken out of the Talmud. Those I refer to are the *indelible impression made upon the stones by the blood of Zacharias*, or rather the *petrification of his blood*, and the *voice from heaven which said, Zacharias is murdered*, and his blood shall not be wiped away till an avenger of his blood

blood shall come. Now this, I say, is Talmudick. For we find both in the Jerusalem and Babylonish Talmud, as they are cited by Dr. Lightfoot^a, that the blood of Zacharias continued, and was not wiped away till Nebuzaradan, the Babylonish general, came to Jerusalem, and became a remarkable avenger of his blood. The whole history is this, Talmud. Hierosol. in Taanith (fol. 69.) and Talmud. Babyl. in Sanhedr. fol. 96. " R. Jochanan said, Eighty thousand priests were slain for the blood of Zacharias. R. Judas asked R. Abban, " Where did they kill Zacharias? Was it in the women's " court, or in the court of Israel? He answered, Neither in " the court of Israel, nor in the court of women, but in the court " of the priests; and they did not treat his blood in the same " manner as they were wont to treat the blood of a ram or " young goat. For of these it is written, He shall pour out " his blood, and cover it with dust. But it is written here, " The blood is in the midst of her; she set it upon the top " of a rock; she poured it not upon the ground (Ezek. xxiv. " 7.) But why was this? That it might cause fury to come up " to take vengeance: I have set his blood upon the top of a " rock, that it should not be covered. They committed seven " evils that day: they murdered a priest, a prophet, and a " king: they shed the blood of the innocent: they polluted the " court: that day was the Sabbath: and the day of expiation. " When therefore Nebuzaradan came there (viz. to Jerusalem), " he saw his blood bubbling, and said to them, What meaneth " this? They answered, It is the blood of calves, lambs, and " rams, which we have offered upon the altar. He commanded " then, that they should bring calves, and lambs, and rams, and " said, I will try whether this be their blood: accordingly they " brought and slew them, but the blood (of Zacharias) still " bubbled, but the blood of these did not bubble. Then he said, " Declare to me the truth of this matter, or else I will comb " your flesh with iron combs. Then said they to him, He was " a priest, prophet, and judge, who prophesied to Israel all these

^a Hor. Hebr. et Talmud. in de Arcan. Cathol. Verit. l. 4. c. 23. Matt. xxiii. 35. See also Galatin.

"*calumnies which we have suffered from you; but we arose
against him, and slew him. Then said he, I will appease
him: then he took the rabbins, and slew them upon his (viz.
Zacharias's) blood, and he was not yet appeased. Next he
took the young boys from the schools, and slew them upon his
blood, and yet it bubbled. Then he brought the young priests,
and slew them in the same place, and yet it still bubbled. So
he slew at length ninety-four thousand persons upon his blood,
and it did not as yet cease bubbling. Then he drew near to
it, and said, O Zacharias, Zacharias, thou hast occasioned
the death of the chief of thy countrymen, shall I slay them
all? Then the blood ceased, and did bubble no more, &c."*

This is very evidently the same story which we find in the *Protevangelion*, though applied to a different person there under the same name; from which being a plain Jewish or Talmudick story, and also common among the Jewish writers, as in Midrash. Coheleth, fol. 93. and Midrash. Echah. fol. 69^a, it is most evident the author of this spurious Gospel was a Jew.

3. It seems to me not unreasonable to conclude, that the author of this Gospel was a Jew, because Epiphanius relates the same things which are in this Gospel, as taken in τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων παραδόσεως, out of the accounts or traditions of the Jews^b. The things I mean are the relations of Joseph's former wife, and children, and age, &c. (as above, Obs. VIII.) Now these being also in this Apocryphal Gospel, what can be more evident from what I have above said, than that he thought the author of this history to be a Jew?

4. The Epistle of Chromatius and Heliodorus to Jerome, and his Answers (which I have above produced after the Gospel of the Birth of Mary), do expressly assert that Gospel to have been originally written in Hebrew; and though indeed perhaps those Epistles may be supposititious (for which I am not able yet to see that clear evidence which the writers above-mentioned pretend, see Obs. IV.), yet I think their antiquity

^a See Lightfoot Hor. Hebr. et Talmud. in Luc. xi. 51.

^b Hæres. 78. contr. Antidicomar. §. 7.

will be no small collateral evidence, with my foregoing arguments, to prove the author of this Gospel was a Jew, or Hellenist.

C H A P. XIX.

The Protevangelion of James and the Gospel of Mary are Apocryphal, because they were not acknowledged by the Antients, but expressly rejected. They contain several Things contrary to known Truths. Instances produced out of both.

OBS. XI. **T**HE *Protevangelion of James*, and the Gospel of the Birth of *Mary*, are *supposititious and Apocryphal*. I have above shewn (Obs. V.), that most of the Gospel of *Mary* is contained in the *Protevangelion*; though it seems hard to determine which was compiled out of the other, or which of the two was the original compofure. If I were to conjecture, I should rather imagine that the *Protevangelion* was the older book, and that of the Birth of *Mary* made out of it, because *its relations seem more compendious*, and the author omits many circumstances which are in the *Protevangelion*. However this be, they are both spurious and Apocryphal, as will appear by the following arguments.

ARG. I. By Prop. IV. because they *are not to be found in any of the catalogues of sacred books* which are in the writings of the primitive Christians.

ARG. II. By Prop. V. because they *are not cited in any of the first Christian writings*, but on the contrary rejected. The only writers who have mentioned them within my time are Epiphanius, Austin, and Pope Gelafius; each of which looked upon the compofure as trifling and ridiculous, as well as spurious and Apocryphal. Epiphanius places it among the impudent forgeries of the Gnosticks, Hæref. 26. §. 12.

Besides

* Ἄλλα δὲ μυρία παρ' αὐτοῖς
πεπλασμένα γραφεῖα τετόλ-
μηται· Γένναν μὲν γὰρ Μα-
ρίας βιβλίον τί φασιν εἶναι, ἐν
ᾧ θανά τε καὶ ὀλέθρια ὑπο-
βάλλοντες τινα ἐκεῖσε λέγου-
σιν.

Besides, they have among
them ten thousand *spurious and*
impudent writings; such is
that book entitled, *Of the Na-*
tivity of Mary, in which they
have forged the most dreadful
and damnable stories.

An instance of which he produces, see above Obf. III.
viz. concerning the Jews worshipping an ass in the Temple.

Austin as expressly rejects it, contr. Faust. Manich.
l. 23. c. 9. See Casaub. adv. Appar. Annal. Ba-
ron. Exercit. I. No. 44.

Nos ergo credimus Mariam
fuisse in cognatione David,
quia Scripturis eis credimus,
quæ utrumque dicunt, et
Christum ex semine David se-
cundum carnem, et ejus ma-
trem — virginem. Quisquis
itaque dicit Mariam ad con-
sanguinitatem David non per-
tinuisse — hoc ostendat, non
ex quibuscunque literis, sed
Ecclesiasticis, Canonicis, et
Catholicis. Aliæ quippe apud
nos non habent ad has res ul-
lum pondus auctoritatis; ipsæ
sunt enim quas recepit et tenet
Ecclesia toto orbe diffusa. —
Ac per hoc illud quod de Ge-
neratione Mariæ Faustus po-
suit, quod patrem habuerit ex
tribu Levi quendam sacerdo-

But we believe, that *Mary was*
of the family of David, because
we believe those Scriptures,
which affirm, both that Christ
was of the seed of David, and
his mother—a virgin. He
who asserts that Mary did not
belong to the family of Da-
vid—let him prove it, *not*
by any sort of writings, but by
the Ecclesiastical, Canonical,
and Catholick Scriptures. For
other Scriptures *have no*
weight at all with us in things
of this sort, but those only
which are received by the uni-
versal Church. — So that as
to what Faustus urges from
the book, entitled *Of the Na-*
tivity (or Pedigree) of Mary,
viz. that her father was a
Priest of the tribe of Levi,
named

tem, nomine Joachim, quia *named Joachim, is of no manner of authority with me, because it is not Canonical.*
 Canonicum non est, non me

Pope Gelafius, in his Decree of Apocryphal Books, rejects it thus :

Liber de Nativitate Salvatoris, *The book of the Birth of our*
 et de Maria, et obfetrice Sal- *Saviour, and of Mary, and*
 vatoris, Apocryphus. *the Midwife of our Saviour, is*
Apocryphal.

Although we meet not here with the title of the *Protevangelion*, yet there can be no doubt it is the book which is here meant, because it has the title from the three most considerable heads of that Gospel.

Thus all the antient writers, who have mentioned it, have agreed to condemn this history as spurious and fictitious. It is true indeed, some parts of it have been credited (see above, Obs. VIII.), yet it does not appear they were the more credited, because contained in either of these volumes; and though particularly the story of Joseph's former wife and children was so universally received, this seems to have been owing to the universally prevailing opinion of the *perpetual virginity of Mary*, which the antients were exceedingly fond of, as founded upon what they thought a credible tradition. I will only add here, that I have observed *one* place in Jerome's Commentary on Matthew^a, where he seems to have had reference to one of these books, and condemned it as Apocryphal. Some, says he, suppose the brethren of our Lord (spoken of in the Gospel) to be the sons of Joseph by a former wife, following the idle fancies of some Apocryphal books, and feign her name to have been *Escha*, &c. and another in his Epistle against Helvidius^b, in which he plainly seems to reflect upon the *History of the Midwife*, in the *Protevangelion*, as false, and reject the book as Apocryphal. His words are, *Let us not entertain such thoughts of the mother of our Saviour and her pious husband.*

^a Cap. xii. 49.

^b Cap. iv.

There was no midwife present at her delivery, no hurry of women; the Virgin herself put the child in swaddling-clothes, and was both mother and midwife. To prove this he cites those words of Luke (c. ii. 7.), And she brought forth her first-born son, and wrapped him in swaddling-clothes, and laid him in a manger, because there was no room for them in the inn; then adds, "Quæ sententia Apocryphorum deliramenta convincit, "dum Maria ipsa pannis involvit infantem;" i. e. which text confutes the idle fancies of the Apocryphal books, seeing Mary herself wrapped the infant in clothes. This to me seems a plain reference to, and reflection upon, the Protevangelion, in which we read, ch. 19. of the midwife Joseph brought to Mary.

ARG. III. The Gospel of the Birth of Mary, and the Protevangelion of James, are Apocryphal, because *neither of them appear to have been read in the Christian Churches, or Assemblies.* Prop. VI.

ARG. IV. The Gospel of the Birth of Mary, and the Protevangelion of James, are Apocryphal, because *they contain several things contrary to certain and known truths.* Prop. VIII. Of this I have observed the following instances.

Falsehoods in the Gospel of the Birth of Mary.

Ch. ii. *Ifachar is said to be the name of the High-priest who discoursed with Joachim; whereas it is certain from the catalogue of High-priests, which is easily to be made out of Josephus, there was no High-priest about this time of this name, nor indeed at any other time. On the contrary, if this history should be supposed true, and the Virgin Mary taken from the Temple when she was full fourteen (see Chap. 7.), and our Saviour born nine months after that, then we can easily discover who the High-priest was at the time supposed; and that it was not Ifachar, but Simon, the Son of Boethus Alexandrinus, whose daughter Herod himself married^a, and began his*

^a Vid. Joseph. Antiquit. Judaic. l. 15. c. 12. Helvic. Chronol. et Sigon. de Repub. Judæor. l. 5. c. 2. p. 220. *The same as this is hinted by*

his priesthood in the year of the world 3926, and continued therein nineteen years, i. e. till within four or five years of the time in which our Saviour was born.

Ch. VI. We read that Mary was *brought at three years old to the Temple, placed in the apartments, and according to custom continued there till marriageable age, viz. till she was fourteen years old.* But this is evidently a fiction, or falsehood; for,

1. *It is certain there were no such cells or apartments in the Temple at Jerusalem, for the reception and entertainment of virgins.* Baronius indeed ^a dreamt of ninety cells erected by Solomon for this purpose; but how foolish and absurd his opinion is, the learned Cafaubon has well shewn ^b.

2. The Scriptures, Josephus, and the Rabbins, *are perfectly silent concerning any such custom, as that of nuns in the Temple at Jerusalem.*

Falsehoods in the Protevangelion of James.

Instance I. Ruben is said to be High-priest when Joachim offered his sacrifices (c. 1. and 6.); whereas it is certain there never was any High-priest of that name, and I have above proved another person was then High-priest.

Inst. II. The same is to be said of the story of Mary's being brought to the Temple, related in this book (c. 7, 8.), which is said immediately above ^c concerning the cells in the Temple.

Inst. III. The High-priest, who consulted God about the disposal of Mary, is named Zacharias (c. 8.); but it is certain *there was no one of that name High-priest at this time, nor indeed at any other time.* See Josephus's account of the High-priests.

Inst. IV. The Virgin is said, ch. xvii. and xviii. *to have brought forth our Saviour in a cave and desert place;* whereas it is certain, not only from the prophecy of Micah (ch. v. 2.),

by Baron. Appar. ad Annal. Ecclef. No. 39. and Cafaub. Exercit. in eund. Num.

^a Appar. ad Annal. Ecclef. Num. 49.

^b Exercit. I. ad Appar. eund.

Num.

^c By this argument the learned Chemnitius has proved the Protevangelion to be spurious. Exam. Concil. Trident. par. 3. p. 63.

that Christ was to be born in the town of Bethlehem, but from the express testimony of Matthew (c. ii. 1, &c.), Luke (c. ii. 4, 6, &c.), and all the antient writers, except *Justin Martyr*. Dial. cum Tryph. Jud. This is abundantly proved by the great Casaubon against Baronius, Exercit. ii. ad Ann. 1. n. 2. and though he be opposed in this matter by the Jesuit Lanfse- lius, in his tract against Casaubon's Exercitations, inserted among the last edition of Justin Martyr's works (c. 12.), yet it is with the weakest arguments, and such as shew more malice than learning; which is indeed visible in the whole of that performance of the Jesuit.

Inst. V. It is evident by comparing c. 10. with the 23d, that the same Zacharias is spoken of in both places. In the latter place he is said to be the father of John the Baptist, and in the former to have lost the use of his speech; which is a relation concerning Zacharias, the father of the Baptist, in the genuine Gospel of Luke (ch. i. 20.) Now hence it is easy to collect a fresh argument of the falsehood of this Gospel; for (ch. 10.) Zacharias is said to be High-priest, but it is certain the father of the Baptist was not High-priest, but one of the common Priests, and of the course of Abia, which was the eighth in order of those twenty-four courses of ordinary Priests, which were to minister by turn, each his week, according to the institution of David. See 1 Chron. xxiv. 10. and Luke i. 5.

Nor will it be of any force to object, that I suppose in this argument the Canonical authority of Luke, which I have not proved; for it can be no unfair way of reasoning to suppose it truer in this particular than the *Protevangelion*, because in that wherein they differ, the *Protevangelion* is contrary to Josephus, but St. Luke is not, viz. as to Zacharias being High-priest. After all, I am sensible many of the antients, which Baronius has produced, imagined that Zacharias the Baptist's father was an High-priest; and Austin particularly attempts to prove it^a, because there were several High-priests at the same time,
and

^a Tract. xlix. in Joan. in fine.
See Casaub. advers. Appar. An-
nal. Baron. Exercit. I. Num. 69.

The learned Daillé has observed,
that the author of the books under the
name of Dionysius the Areopagite
L 3 (De

and it was lawful for none but a High-priest to offer incense. But herein every one knows he is mistaken, as indeed it is common for the Fathers to be mistaken in Jewish antiquities.

Inst. VI. The story of the death of Zacharias, ch. xxiii. with its circumstances, is false and apparent forgery. This may easily be gathered from several of the preceding observations; but I shall endeavour now to evidence it by this argument, that it is a story jumbled together, and patched up partly out of the history of Zacharias (2 Chron. xxiv. 20.), and partly out of what we read concerning Zacharias, the father of the Baptist, Luke i. and this will appear by the following comparison.

The story of the murder of Zacharias in Chronicles is, that he was slain in the court of the House of the Lord, and prayed the Lord to revenge his blood; the Jewish exposition of which is, that the blood remained indelible upon the stones, till it was actually revenged by Nebuzaradan, see above, Obs. X.

The story of the murder of Zacharias, the father of the Baptist, in the *Protevangelion*, is, that he was murdered in the entrance or court of the Temple; that immediately upon his death, a voice was heard, saying, Zacharias is slain, and his blood shall not be wiped away till a revenger come; that accordingly his blood petrified, and became hard as stone, Ch. 24.

This is evidently the same story; to which there are some circumstances added out of the first chapter of Luke, relating to the true Zacharias, father of the Baptist; for whereas we

(De Cœlest. Hierarc. c. 4. §. 4.) does also make Zacharias, the father of the Baptist, to have been High-priest; but as he shews this to be false, so he hence forms an argument to prove the spuriousness of those pretended works of Dionysius, viz. because the true Dionysius could not be mistaken in a fact of this sort,

and conjectures also, that these books under his name were forgeries of the fourth or fifth century; because, says he, then arose and was spread the opinion of Zacharias, the Baptist's father, being High-priest. Dall. de Lib. supposit. Dionys. Areop. lib. 1. c. 28. p. 164, 165.

there

there read, ver. 20, 21, 22, *that Zacharias was dumb, that the people waited for him, and marvelled that he tarried so long in the Temple*: in the *Protevangelion* (c. 10.) we read, *Zacharias lost the use of his speech*, and (ch. 24.) *that the Priest continued for a long time waiting for him to come out of the Temple, &c.* Nothing then upon the whole can be more evident, than that the author of this book has jumbled together in this history what is said of two persons called Zacharias, and applied it to one; and consequently that compofure is a forgery, and so Apocryphal by Prop. VIII.

Inst. VII. The last instance of falsehood, which I shall mention in this *Protevangelion*, is that (c. 24.) where *Simeon* (mentioned Luke ii. 25.) *is said to be chosen successor to Zacharias in the High-priesthood.* That the author meant the same Simeon is evident, because he expressly says, as Luke, that *it was revealed to him by the Holy Ghost, that he should not see death, before he had seen Christ in the flesh.* But it is certain this Simeon was not then High-priest; for though there were many of that name advanced to this post, yet he who at this time possessed it was Joazarus; besides, had he been really High-priest, as Mr. Fabritius^a well observes, *it is not likely that St. Luke, when he was giving him so honourable a character, would omit that which must needs have a considerable addition to it, viz. his being High-priest.* It is indeed difficult for us to know who this Simeon was; whether it were Rabban Simeon, the son of Hillel, President of the Sanhedrim, and father of Gamaliel, as several learned men have thought^b, or some other person of that name, I shall not enquire, but only observe, that although the Fathers generally believed he was a High-priest, there can be nothing more ridiculous than the mistake of Jerome^c, and others, who confound him with Simon the Just, who lived in the time of Alexander the Great, and, according to the Jews, met him when he came to Jerusalem. See Druf. Præter. lib. 3. in Luc. ii. 25.

^a Cod. Apocr. N. T. t. 1. p. ii. 25. Scultet. Exercit. in loc.

124.

^c Advers. Helvid. c. 4.

Lightfoot. Hor. Heb. in Luc.

C H A P. XX.

The Gospel of Mary and the Protevangelion of James proved Apocryphal, because of the many idle and fabulous Things which they contain. A Collection of these. The Protevangelion is Apocryphal, because it contains several Contradictions; and both are so, because they are not in the Syriack Version.

ARG. V. **T**HE Gospel of the Birth of Mary, and the Protevangelion of James, are Apocryphal by Prop. IX. because they contain things ludicrous and trifling, fabulous and silly relations. To collect all these would be almost the same as transcribing the whole books themselves; because, besides what is taken out of the received Canonical books, they contain little but things of this nature. I shall think it sufficient to present the reader with a few remarkable instances.

A Collection of several trifling Stories and fabulous Relations in the Protevangelion of James, and the Gospel of the Birth of Mary.

In the Protevangelion are the following.

1. The story of *Joachim's fasting forty days and forty nights in the wilderness* (ch. i.), appears an idle forgery in imitation of the fast which Moses and Christ kept of forty days and nights in the wilderness, Exod. xxiv. 18. Matt. iv. 3.
2. *The prayer of Anna* (c. iii.) seems very trifling; and if it were really conceived by her, yet very unworthy the notice of an inspired writer.
3. *The Virgin's walking nine steps* at six months of age, ch. vi.
4. God's sending down power from heaven to the Virgin to leap and dance upon the third step of the Altar, ch. vii.

5. *The*

5. *The Virgin's being fed, and receiving her food from the hand of an angel*, ch. viii.

6. *A dove flying out of Joseph's rod, and lighting upon his head*, ch. ix.

7. *The Virgin's hearing the angel's songs*, ch. xv.

8. *The ceasing of all sorts of motion at our Saviour's birth, and the ridiculous account of the astonishment of the air, fowls stopping in the midst of their flight, men who sat at table not eating, their hands lift up to their mouths, and not having power to put any thing in, their eyes all upwards, the shepherd's lifting up his hand to smite the sheep, and his hand continuing lift up, the kids with their mouths at the water, and not being able to drink*, ch. xviii.

9. *Elizabeth's praying that the mountain should open, and the mountain opening accordingly to receive her*, ch. xxii.

In the Gospel of the Birth of Mary, I only observe the idle account,

1. *Of the Virgin's familiarity with angels, and her receiving daily visits from them*, c. vii.

2. *Of the dove's descending from heaven, and pitching upon the top of Joseph's rod*, c. viii.

3. *Of the Virgin's knowing the countenance of the angels*, c. ix.

ARG. VI. The Gospel of the Birth of Mary, and the *Protevangelion* of James, are Apocryphal by Prop. XIV. *because they appear plainly to be stolen or transcribed out of several parts of the received and Canonical Scriptures.* I shall endeavour to shew the fact first, and then the force of the consequence.

As to the fact, it seems evident by the instances following.

Instances in the Protevangelion of accounts borrowed from the Canonical books.

1. *Joachim's fasting forty days and forty nights*, ch. i. seems to be taken from the fast of Moses, Exod. xxiv. 18. Elijah, 1 Kings xix. 8. and our Saviour, Matt. iv. 2. who are recorded to have fasted during the same space of time precisely.

2. *The*

2. *The story of Anna's barrenness, her praying for a child* (ch. ii. iii.), *her devoting him to the temple* (ch. iv.), seems all to be taken from the history of Hannah (1 Sam. i.), where we meet with the very same relations.

3. The account of *Joachim's making a great feast, when the child*, which his wife after long barrenness had brought forth, was a year old, ch. vi. seems to be taken from the like history of Abraham's making a feast, when Isaac the child, which Sarah after long barrenness bare to him, was weaned, Gen. xxi. 8.

4. Anna's being *made to sing a song of praise on account of her child*, seems to be founded on Hannah's prayer or song, 1 Sam. ii. 1, &c. * and the thoughts are agreeable, as the phrase is taken from that of Rachel, Gen. xxx. 23.

5. The story of *Zacharias the High-priest being dumb*, (ch. x.) is formed from that of Zacharias, the Baptist's father, Luke i. 20, 62, &c.

6. *The angel's salutation of the Virgin* (ch. xi.), is the same, and in the very same words, with that, Luke i. 28.

7. *The angel's relation to Mary* (ch. xi.) *of the conception and birth of Christ*, and of the *conception of John by Elizabeth*, is exactly the same with that in Luke i. 30—39. and expressed in almost all the same words.

8. The account of *Mary's going to Elizabeth, the child's leaping in her womb thereupon, her speech to Mary*, &c. seems plainly taken out of Luke i. 39, &c.

9. *Joseph's reasoning concerning Mary's being with child, and the angel's appearing to him* (ch. xiv.), is a plain paraphrase of Matt. i. 19, &c.

10. The charge from heaven given to *Salome not to publish the miracle wrought for her by touching Christ* (ch. 20.), seems taken from our Saviour's frequent commands to those for whom he wrought miracles, not to publish what he had done for them ^b, and particularly from that charge which he gave

* The verb תתפּרל which we translate *prayed*, would be better rendered *sang*, or *praised in songs*, as the word תּפּילתּ Pf. lxxii. 20. must necessarily be taken for *songs*,

or *psalms*, which is derived from the same root.

^b See Matt. viii. 4. ix. 30. xvi. 9.

upon the working the very same miracle (*viz. curing a withered hand*), Matt. xii. 16.

11. *The history of the wise men*, with its various circumstances and consequences, ch. xxi. and Herod's killing the children, ch. xxii. appears a manifest transcript of the second chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, only with this considerable difference, that the circumstance of our Saviour's being wrapped in swaddling clothes, and laid in a manger at his birth, *because there was no room in the inn*, which is related by St. Luke (ch. ii. 7.), is here most awkwardly applied to *Mary's bidding the child from the starch of Herod, and that in the very words of St. Luke*; a plain instance of a forgery.

12. The story of Simeon (ch. xxiv.), *viz. his having a revelation that he should not die till he should see Christ*, seems to be taken from Luke iv. 26. not only because the sense, but the very words in the Greek are the same.

Instances in the Gospel of the Birth of Mary of accounts borrowed from the Canonical books.

1. The History of *Joachim and Anna devoting their child to the service of God in the temple*, ch. i. and vi. is the same with that of Anna, 1 Sam. i. See the former instances, Numb. 2.

2. The phrase, ch. iii. *Thy prayers are heard, and thine alms come up before God*, which is made use of by the angel to Joachim, is the very same with that which the angel made use of to Cornelius, Acts x. 4.

3. The character given to Anna, Luke ii. 37. *viz. that she did not depart from the temple, but served God with fastings and prayers*, is manifestly borrowed hence, and made by the angel to be the future character of the Virgin Mary, c. iv.

4. The compendium of the song of praise, which Joachim and Anna sang to God for the promise of a child, *viz. that he exalted the humble*, is borrowed from the song of Mary, Luke i. 52. in which she praised God for the promise of her bringing forth Christ.

5. *The angel's salutation to Mary* (ch. ix) is the same with that, Luke i. 28, 29.

6. *Joseph's*

6. *Joseph's hesitating what to do* (ch. x.) is a manifest paraphrase of Matthew i. 19.

From these instances it is very evident that the author or authors of the Gospel of the Birth of Mary, and the Protevangelion of James, *formed a very large part of those books from, and accommodated them to, several histories of the Old and New Testament.* It is manifest they borrowed their circumstances hence, and for the most part applied them to other different stories, which, as it is impossible ever to have happened by chance or without design, manifestly demonstrates the whole composition to be a mere fable and fiction; and consequently Apocryphal: for as inspiration and extraordinary assistance is needless in such a case, so to suppose a person inspired who composes out of another's work, and publishes it as his own, is to make the Holy Spirit concur to the production of a mere cheat and imposture. They are therefore Apocryphal by Prop. XIV.

ARG. VII. The *Protevangelion* of James is Apocryphal by Prop. VII. because there are in it several contradictions. For instance,

Ch. xi. We read, that the angel came to *Mary, gave her a particular account of her conception, and the manner of it*; and yet ch. xiii. when Joseph accuses her of being with child, *she solemnly swears, she was utterly ignorant how she came to be with child.* This is so palpable a contradiction, that I know not any thing can be said in favour of it, unless that the Virgin lied in denying her knowledge; but this cannot be supposed consistent with the opinion the author of this book had of the Virgin*.

Ch. xvii. xviii. It is said the place where the Virgin brought forth was in a *desert place, and in a cave*; but this is not only contrary to Scripture and fact, but to another part of the *Protevangelion*, where the author transcribing the se-

* This I find, since my first writing, is also observed by Rivet, as a contradiction, and what proves the

book spurious. Critic. Sac. l. 1. c. 4. p. 131.

cond Chapter of Matthew, forgets what he had before said, and agrees with St. Matthew, that our Saviour was born at Bethlehem. See ch. xxi.

ARG. VIII. It is Apocryphal, because it is not contained in the Syriack Version, by Prop. XV.

C H A P. XXI.

Several miscellaneous Reflections on the Gospel of Mary, and the Protevangelion of James. Postellus's Account of the Protevangelion. His Arguments for its Authority particularly refuted.

HITHERTO I have been endeavouring to entertain the reader with my own observations and remarks on these two famous Apocryphal Gospels. It remains only now, that I give some account of the remarks of others concerning them, with some suitable reflections. Mr. Fabritius has indeed with much labour done this in a great measure already, and at length set down what the learned have wrote concerning them; to whom therefore I would refer the curious reader, judging it sufficient (after what I have above said) to give here the following accounts.

I. *There are several manuscript copies of this Gospel now extant in Europe.* Father Simon ^a tells us, that he saw two Greek manuscript copies of it in the French King's library; the one entitled, Τῷ μακαρίῳ Ἰακώβῳ τῷ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ κυρίου λόγος ἱστορικὸς εἰς τὴν γενέσιν τῆς ὑπεραγίας θιοτόκου, *An Historical Account of the Nativity of the most Holy Mother of our Lord, by James the blessed Brother of our Lord*; the other very little different, Τῷ μακαρίῳ Ἰακώβῳ τῷ Ἀποστόλῳ, καὶ ἀδελφῷ τῷ Κυρίῳ, περὶ τῆς γενέσεως τῆς ἁγίας θιοτόκου, *A Discourse of James the Blessed, an Apostle and Bro-*

^a Nouvelles Observ. sur la Texte apud Fabrit. Cod. Apocr. t. i.
& les Versions du Nouv. Test. c. 1. p. 58.

ther of our Lord, concerning the Nativity of the holy Mother of our Lord. Daniel de Nessel, in his Abridgment and Supplement to Lambecius's Commentary on the library of the Emperor at Vienna, among other of the Greek MSS. which are in his catalogue, tells us, there are *five MSS. of the Protevangelion of James in that library* ^a.

II. *The first person who made this Gospel* (viz. the Protevangelion) *known in Europe, was Postellus, who entertained a very high opinion of it.* He brought it from the Levant, translated it into Latin, sent it to Oporinus, a printer at Basil; where Bibliander meeting with it, caused it to be printed, A. D. 1552. The substance of what Bibliander, after Postellus, saith, concerning it, I shall here give the reader, as I find it collected by Father Simon ^b, and afterwards by Fabritius ^c; viz. "That it was publicly read in the Eastern Churches, among whom it was reckoned authentick, they never making any doubt but that James was the author of it: that it is to be looked upon as a jewel among the books of divinity, as the basis and foundation of all the Gospel history, and the beginning of the present Gospel of Mark:—that the Gospels now received can never be sufficiently regarded by the Jews without this: for which he offers among others this reason, that *the rulers of the Jews made use of the water of trial mentioned (Numbers v.) to prove the innocency of the Virgin.* (See ch. xvi.) He observes from the Jewish writings, that it was made a law among the Jews, that *whatever woman of the tribe of Judah, and especially of the family of David, was found with child, the matter was to be referred to the consideration of the Priests, and thence concludes, they could not be unacquainted with the delivery of Mary, she being given to Joseph by them, but must have an incontestable proof of the miraculous birth of Christ.* The Evangelist Luke, in the Preface to his Gospel, witnesses, *that many have taken in hand to set forth a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among Christians, even as they delivered them, who from the begin-*

^a Apud Fabrit. t. i. p. 59, 60.

^b Critic. Histor. of the New Test.

par. i. c. 3.

^c Cod. Apoc. t. i. p. 48, 49.

"ning

"ning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word. This
 "does not seem so well to agree to Matthew and John, as to
 "James the brother of our Lord, the author of the history
 "which I now publish, concerning *the Nativity of Christ*;
 "of which Luke gives a more compendious account, but does
 "not at all differ from this *Protevangelion*. St. Austin refers
 "to it in the first chapter of the first book, *De Consens.*
 "*Evang.* Besides, that this tradition (viz. concerning the
 "birth of Christ) is very old, and has been received in the
 "Church, and owes its original to no other than James the
 "brother of our Lord, I am persuaded from Epiphanius
 "against the Collyridians and Antidicomarians^a, who men-
 "tions the cave, and other miracles. But if any one think
 "this book ought not to be placed among the Ecclesiastical
 "writings, because Jerome, Eusebius, and others, who have
 "wrote concerning the life and writings of James, have
 "made no mention of it, nor reckoned it among the sacred
 "books, he may be answered by good reasons: for Epipha-
 "nius, who was before Jerome and Eusebius, proves the an-
 "tiquity of the history. Besides, some things have escaped
 "the knowledge of the most diligent writers, and others have
 "been long concealed in the Church, as the *Book of the Law*
 "*in the time of Josiah*, *The Second Epistle of Peter*, *The Epistle*
 "*of Paul to the Hebrews*, *The Epistle of Jude*, and the *Re-*
 "*velation*, were unknown to many Christians for a long time,
 "and not till very late received into the Canon. But this
 "much recommends this writing of James, that it is never
 "reckoned among the Apocryphal and spurious writings, as
 "the Gospel of Nicodemus, Thomas, Bartholomew, and
 "others. Nor are we for that reason to reject this book as
 "Apocryphal, because it contains some of those things which
 "are in the *Book of Joachim*, or the *Nativity of Mary* (which
 "Jerome translated out of Hebrew into Latin), or the book
 "of the *Infancy of our Saviour*, of the *Birth of our Saviour*, of
 "Mary, or the *Midwife of our Saviour*, which Gelasius
 "ranks among Apocryphal books. For we do not esteem

^a Hæres. 78. §. 15.

“ the four received Gospels of the less credit, because they
 “ agree in many things with the Gospel of Nicodemus, Tho-
 “ mas, Bartholomew, the Nazarenes, or the Alcoran of Ma-
 “ homet. But if any one be offended at the multitude of
 “ miracles therein, let him consider the incarnation of Christ
 “ was a great work, which was to be supported by divine
 “ works and evidences against the infidelity of Jews, Maho-
 “ metans, Heathens, deceivers, and Hereticks. Besides,
 “ these miracles have no tendency to draw men’s minds from
 “ the knowledge and worship of God, but the contrary;
 “ which is the nature of a true miracle. Nor is there any
 “ thing in this writing of James, which is repugnant to the
 “ sacred history; nor does there appear any motive which
 “ would induce the oriental Christians to forge it, viz. nei-
 “ ther their temporal interest, reputation, power, &c. so that
 “ if ever any thing was received by just tradition, this book
 “ was formerly, and is still preserved in the Eastern Churches,
 “ and ought not to be despised by us in the Western. After
 “ all, as I do not contend for its being advanced to the same
 “ height as the Canonical books of the Old and New Testa-
 “ ment, so I think it should not be rejected among the Apo-
 “ crypha. For if the little book of Ruth, which contains the
 “ pedigree of David from Booz to Ruth, is placed in the Ca-
 “ non, though we know not the writer’s name, it seems to
 “ me very unjust, that this first *Gospel of St. James concern-
 “ ing the Nativity of Christ and the Virgin*, which is reckoned
 “ among the authentick (i. e. Canonical) books by the East-
 “ ern Churches, should not at least be placed among the Ha-
 “ giographa, or Ecclesiastical books, such as the *Epistle of
 “ Clemens*, and the *Shepherd of Hermas* formerly were
 “ esteemed, and the book of *Tobit*, *Judith*, the *Wisdom of So-
 “ lomon*, *Ecclesiasticus*, the *History of the Maccabees*, the third
 “ and fourth Books of *Ezra*, are now esteemed by all the
 “ Churches; which books, as to excellency of argument,
 “ and that simplicity of stile which is usual in inspired writ-
 “ ings, are far exceeded by this book of James.” Such was
 the very high opinion which Postellus, and after him Biblian-
 der, have entertained of this *Protevangelion*.

III. *Nothing that Postellus or Bibliander have said for the
 credit*

credit of this Gospel of James is of any real force to support its authority. It would be superfluous to enter into a distinct critical examination of all his pretended arguments; I shall think it enough briefly to discuss that which seems most considerable of what he offers in the preceding abstract of his opinion.

1. He urges in the beginning, that *it was publickly read in the Eastern Churches, and acknowledged as authentick and genuine*; and towards the end says, *it was reckoned by them among the Canonical books.* But to this it is easy to answer,

(1.) *That the practice or opinion of the Oriental Churches, in the time of Postellus, viz. in the sixteenth century, can be no good rule for us to determine by in this matter*; nor can we be more obliged to receive this or any other book which the Oriental Christians of several preceding centuries received, because they did or do receive it, than we are to acknowledge the idle fables of the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, because they are received by the Western Christians of the Church of Rome.

(2.) *It is not unreasonable to question the truth of the fact, seeing it is only related by Postellus, and seems in itself improbable.* This, says Mr. Fabritius ^a, *is asserted without any reason, and cannot be proved.* I have not seen any persons, or observed any whole Churches, who reckon it among the Canonical Scriptures.—Nor shall I easily believe Postellus herein, &c.

2. What he urges, that it is of use to *convince the Jews, and agreeable to some Jewish stories*, is of no account, because *this is very consistent with its being a forgery.*

3. That St. Luke (chap. i. 1.) *respected it*, and that *what he says will better agree to it than Matthew and John*, is indeed in one sense true; because I have above proved ^b, that St. Luke in those words *respected only the false Gospels*, which were then published, and therefore his argument will only prove

^a Cod. Apocr. N. T. t. i. p. 53, 52. *Vindic. of St. Matthew's Gospel,* ch. 2.

^b Vol. I. Ch. II. p. 23. See my

against himself; but that St. Luke had any respect in his Preface to this Gospel, is a mere groundless and precarious assertion.

4. What he urges in favour of it, that it *does not differ from St. Luke's account of the nativity of Christ*, is in reality an argument of no weight, if it were true, because a *forgery might easily be so*; but besides the fact is absolutely false, it contradicting the Evangelist's account in several particulars, some of which I have above observed, Ch. XIX. Arg. IV. Inst. 4, 5.

5. That St. Austin refers to it (Lib. i. de Consent. Evang. c. 1.), is also utterly false.

6. That *several of the stories or traditions in it have been credited by Epiphanius*, is indeed true (see above, Ch. XVII. Obs. VIII.); but it is equally true, that Epiphanius *rejected this book as spurious and Apocryphal*, as I have shewn, Chap. XIX. Arg. II.

7. His answer to the obvious objection against it, *that it is not mentioned by Eusebius, or Jerome, or any of the ancients, among the works of James*, is very trifling, viz. *that several things have escaped the knowledge of the most diligent writers*, that the book of the law was not known till found in Josiah's time, and that the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Second Epistle of Peter, Jude, and the Revelation, were not of a long time received into the Canon. This, I say, is a very weak and trifling answer; because,

(1.) *The testimony of the first centuries is the principal, and almost only rule we have, whereby to judge of the Canonical authority of any book* (see Par. I. Ch. VI. Prop. III.); consequently, if the book was not known to them, we cannot esteem it Canonical.

(2.) Although the *Epistle to the Hebrews, the second of Peter, that of Jude and the Revelation, were not for some time so universally received as the other writings of the New Testament*, yet it is certain they were at the same time in being, and received by most (as I shall hereafter shew); neither of which can be so said of this *Protevangelion*.

8. That

8. *That it is not reckoned among the Apocryphal Gospels by the antients, is utterly false.* See above, Ch. XIX. Arg. III.

9. *What he says in vindication of the miraculous stories contained in it, viz. that they are related as attending a very great event, and have no bad tendency, may be equally said of most fabulous legends.*

10. *That there is nothing in it repugnant to the sacred history, I have above proved false by several instances.* See Ch. XX.

11. *That nothing could tempt the Oriental Christians to forge it, is what we call petitio principii, and may be with equal reason asserted of many known forgeries.*

12. *His confessing it ought not to be esteemed in the same high degree of Canonical authority with the other parts of Scripture, and yet not allowing it to be Apocryphal, is utterly inconsistent with what he contends for, viz. that it was the genuine writing of St. James, and ought to be received as such.*

13. *His argument for the Canonical authority of this book, because of the likeness of its subject to the book of Ruth, is exceeding weak; because it would thence follow, that all genealogical books among the Jews must be equally Canonical.*

14. *That it agrees more in style with the undoubted inspired books of Scripture, than the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, is not only false, as appears from the idle and fabulous accounts in it which I have above collected, Ch. XX. Arg. V. but would prove nothing if true, but the greater artifice of the impostor.*

Thus weak are all the arguments which are offered by Postellus and Bibliander in defence of this *Protevangelion* under the name of *James*.

IV. Besides the above-mentioned Postellus and Bibliander, all other writers have agreed to reject the *Protevangelion* as spurious and Apocryphal. I confess indeed, Jacob Grynaeus seems to have entertained some more favourable sentiments of it; which indeed it is not strange he should, when we consider that he inserted it among the other pieces, to which he gives

the splendid title of *Orthodoxographa*: His words are, “ Multa
 “ habet quæ narrationibus quatuor Evangelistarum pulchre
 “ consentiunt, plura autem quæ ab illis velut *ἀπίρρητα* sunt
 “ prætermissa.—Plura autem Evangelia illa ætate scripta esse
 “ auctor est Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 25.” i. e. *It contains many things which perfectly agree to the accounts of the four Evangelists, but more which they thought proper to omit as needless: however Eusebius assures us, that there were many Gospels written about that time, i. e. about the time of James, and the other Apostles.* Such an oversight in Grynæus, who was a Protestant, could not escape the censure of the Papists. Sixtus Senensis ^a observes with an air of contempt, *that it was published by the Hereticks of his time, and Father Simon seems to wonder the Protestants should cause it to be printed, and think it worthy to be published under the title of Orthodoxographa* ^b; and I must indeed own, it is not a little strange Grynæus should be thus imposed upon: only I would observe, that Postellus, the first publisher of it, *was a Papist* ^c; and that it is not just in Father Simon to impute the mistake of one Protestant to the whole body of those who go under that denomination. It is certain, that all other Protestants have rejected it, who have mentioned it. Mr. Fabritius ^d has made a large collection of the sentiments both of Protestants and Papists, who have all judged it spurious and Apocryphal. I shall think it sufficient to refer the reader only to such whom I have seen; and those are,

Among the Protestants.

Chemnitius Examen. Concil. Trid. par. iii. p. 63, and p. 90.

Casaubon. Exercit. i. contr. Baron. Num. 39.

Rivet. Crit. Sacr. lib. i. c. 4. p. 131.

Scultetus Medulla Patrum. par. i. l. xi. c. 6.

Bishop Pearson's Exposit. on the Creed, Artic. iii. p. 170.

^a Bibliothec. Sanct. in Jacob. l. 2. p. 67.

^b Critic. Hist. of the New Test. Par. 1. c. 3. p. 27.

^c This I conclude from his saying, the Apocrypha of the Old Test-

tament were esteemed in all the Churches; which is only true of the Popish Churches, they being rejected by the Protestants.

^d Cod. Apocr. Nov. Test. Par. 1. p. 53, &c.

Dr. Cave Hist. Liter. Vol. I. p. 9. in Jacobo.

Spanheim. Hist. Christ. Secul. i. p. 580.

Dr. Mill Prolegom. in Nov. Test. §. 274.

Among the Papists.

Gaspari Quirog. Index Expurgat. Hispan. p. 420.

Sixtus Senensis Biblioth. Sanct. l. ii. p. 67. ad voc. Jacob.

Bellarmin. de Scriptor. Ecclesiast. in Jacob. p. 42.

Du Pin. Hist. of the Canon of the New Testam. Vol. II. c. 6. §. 4.

Father Simon Critic. Hist. of the New Test, par. i. c. 3. p. 27.

Thus I have endeavoured largely to offer to the reader, what I have observed or judged most considerable, relating to this Gospel. I shall only add, that as the history contained therein undoubtedly was a very early forgery, so it seems impossible to give any certain particular account either of its age or author; unless we will suppose, as the author of the Epistle to Chromatius and Heliodorus, under the name of Jerome above produced, does, both in his Epistle and Preface, that it was the composition of Seleucus, who is the same (as I have proved, Par. II. Ch. XXI.) with Leucius Charinus; not that he was the first author, (for he, as I have proved above, was undoubtedly a Jew), but the person who made such large additions and interpolations, that he was esteemed the author.

C H A P. XXII.

The Gospel of our Saviour's Infancy.

THE following Gospel was published and translated by Mr. Henry Sike at Utrecht, 1697, Professor of the Oriental languages in Cambridge, and requires a place here for the following reasons :

1. Because it is of the same original with the other Gospel of the Infancy published by Cotelerius, and that claims St. Thomas for its author. See the next Chapter.

2. Because the books of Christ's Infancy went under the names of St. Matthew ^a, and St. Peter ^b.

3. Because they were received by the Gnosticks in the second century. See below, Ch. XXIV.

4. Because several of its relations were credited by the Christians in the following ages, viz. Eusebius, Athanasius, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, &c. To omit all others, I shall only instance in Sozomen, who credits and says he was told by many the following stories, which are in this Gospel, viz. that Ch. X. of the idol's falling down in Egypt upon Joseph's flight thither with Christ, and that Ch. XXIV. of Christ's making a well in a sycamore tree (to wash his clothes), called Matarea, and a balsam proceeding from the tree. These are related by Sozomen thus ^c : " They say, that at Hermopolis, " which is a town of Thebais, there is a tree called Persis, " of which either the fruit or leaves, or any small piece of the " bark, brought near to sick persons, has cured many. For " it is said, that Joseph, when he fled with Christ and Mary " for fear of Herod, came to Hermopolis, and that as soon as " he came near the gate, that tree, though a very great one, " was moved at Christ's coming by, and bowed down to the " ground, and worshipped Christ. He adds, that he supposes

^a See the Epistle of Chromatius and Heliodorus, and Jerome's Answers above, Chap. XIV.

^b Ahmed Ibn Edris apud Fabric. Cod. Apocr. t. 1. p. 153.

^c Hist. Eccl. l. 5. c. 20.

" the

"the tree was an idol, and the Devil was affrighted at Christ's coming, and that all the idols of Egypt fell down upon Christ's coming there, according to the prophecy of Isaiah xix. 1. *The burden of Egypt. Behold the Lord rideth upon a swift cloud, and shall come into Egypt, and the idols of Egypt shall be moved at his presence, &c.* So, says he, the Devil being cast out, the tree remained to be a witness of the fact, and to cure believers of their diseases ^a."

5. Mr. La Crose cites a synod, which was held in the diocese of Angamala, in the mountainous country of Malabar, A. D. 1599, which condemns the *Gospel of Christ's Infancy*, as a book that was commonly read by the Nestorians in Malabar ^b. Add to this, that Ahmed Ibn Idris, a writer for the Mahometan religion against the Christians and Jews ^c, says, *it was used by some Christians as the other four Gospels* ^d: and Ocobius de Castro speaks of a Gospel of *Thomas*, which Mr. Fabricius takes for the *Gospel of the Infancy* ^e (and probably was so), that was read in very many Churches of Asia and Africa, as the only rule of their faith; which, he says, he saw, and had translated to him by an Armenian Archbishop at Amsterdam.

^a Chemnitius out of Stapulensis, who had it from Peter Martyr, says, that the place in Egypt, where Christ was banished, is now called Matarea, which is ten miles beyond Cairo, and that the inhabitants there keep a lamp continually burning in remembrance thereof; and that there is to be seen there a garden of small trees that yield a balsam, which

were planted by Jesus, when a boy. Vid. Chemnit. Harmon. Evang. tom. 1. lib. 1. c. 19. p. 246.

^b Vid. Fabr. Cod. Apoc. tom. 3. p. 422.

^c Prideaux's, Life of Mahomet, p. 261.

^d Cod. Apoc. tom. 1. p. 153.

^e Tom. 1. p. 146.

Numb. VII.

EVANGELIUM IN-
FANTIÆ.The GOSPEL of the IN-
FANCY (of our SAVI-
OUR).

*In nomine Patris, et Filii, et
Spiritus Sancti, Dei Unius.
Auxiliante et favente summo
Numine, incipimus scribere
librum miraculorum Heri et
Domini et Servatoris nostri
Jesu Christi, qui vocatur
Evangelium Infantiae, in
pace Domini, Amen.*

*In the name of the Father, and
the Son, and the Holy Ghost,
One God. I begin with the
assistance and favour of God
to write the book of the mi-
racles of our Master, and
Lord and Saviour Jesus
Christ, which is entitled,
The Gospel of the Infancy,
with the blessing of God,
Amen.*

Cap. I.

Chap. I.

INVENIMUS in libro Jo-
sephi Pontificis, qui vixit tem-
pore Christi; dicuntque non-
nulli eum esse Caiapham; dixit
is, Jesum locutum esse, et
quidem cum in cunis jaceret,
dixisseque matri suæ Mariæ;
Ego sum Jesus, Filius Dei,
Verbum illud quod peperisti,
quemadmodum annunciavit
Angelus tibi Gabriel, misit-
que me Pater meus ad salutem

*THE following accounts we
found in the book of Joseph
the High-priest, called by
some Caiphas: he relates, that
Jesus spake even when he was
in his cradle, and said to his
mother, Mary, I am Jesus the
Son of God, that Word, which
thou didst bring forth according
to the declaration of the Angel
Gabriel to thee, and my Father
hath sent me for the salvation
of the world.*

II. Anno autem trecente-
simo nono æræ Alexandri e-
dixit Augustus, ut describere-
tur unusquisque in patria sua.

II. In the three hundred
and ninth year of the æra of
Alexander, Augustus publish-
ed a decree, that all persons
should go to be taxed in their
own

Surrexit itaque Josephus, et assumpta Maria sponsa sua Hierosolymam abiit, venitque Bethlehemum, ut cum familia sua in urbe patria describeretur. Cumque ad speluncam pervenissent, facta est Maria Josepho, instare sibi tempus pariendi, neque se posse in urbem proficisci; sed hanc, inquit, speluncam intremus. Sol autem præceps in occasum ferebatur. At Josephus prope abiens, ut mulierem, quæ (in partu) ipsi adesset, accerferet, anum Hebræam conspicit, Hierosolymis oriundam; et, Heus benedicta, inquit, huc ades, et speluncam istam ingredi, in qua mulierem partui vicinam invenies.

III. Post solis itaque occasum anus, et cum illa Josephus, ad speluncam pervenit, eamque ambo intraverunt. Et ecce! repleta illa erat luminibus, lucernarum et candelarum fulgorem excedentibus, et solari luce majoribus: infans fasciis involutus divæ Mariæ matris suæ ubera sugabat, in præsepi repositus. Hanc lucem cum ambo mira-

own country. Joseph therefore arose, and with Mary his spouse he went to Jerusalem, and then came to Bethlehem, that he and his family might be taxed in the city of his fathers. And when they came by the cave, Mary confessed to Joseph, that her time of bringing forth was come, and she could not go on to the city, and said, *Let us go into this cave.* At that time the sun was very near going down. But Joseph hastened away, that he might fetch her a midwife; and when he saw an old Hebrew woman, who was of Jerusalem, he said to her, *Pray come hither, good woman, and go into that cave, and you will there see a woman just ready to bring forth.*

III. It was then after sunset, when the old woman and Joseph with her reached the cave, and they both went into it. And behold, it was all filled with lights, greater than the light of lamps and candles, and greater than the light of the sun itself. The infant was then wrapped up in swaddling clothes, and sucking the breasts of his mother St. Mary. When they both saw

this light, they were surprised; the old woman asked St. Mary,

Art

rentur, rogat vetula divam Mariam, Tunc hujus prolis es mater? et annuente diva Maria, Nequaquam, ait, similis es filiabus Evæ. Dicebat diva Maria, Sicuti filio meo nemô inter pueros similis existit, ita ipsius genetrix nullam inter mulieres parem habet. Respondente vero anu, et dicente, Hera mea, veni ego, ut præmium perpetuo duraturum acquirerem: inquit illi Domina nostra diva Maria, Impone manus tuas infanti: quod cum fecisset, anus extempore munda evasit. Egressa itaque dicebat, Ab hoc tempore famula et ministra ero hujus infantis omnibus diebus vitæ meæ.

IV. Deinde cum advenissent pastores, et succenso igne admodum lætarentur, apparuerunt illis exercitus cœlestes, laudantes et celebrantes Deum supremum, idemque facientibus pastoribus, spelunca ista tunc temporis augusto templo simillima videbatur, quoniam orâ cœlestia pariter et terrestria celebrabant et magnificabant Deum, ob natiuitatem Domini Christi.

Art thou the mother of this child? St. Mary replied, She was. On which the old woman said, Thou art very different from all other women. St. Mary answered, As there is not any child like to my son, so neither is there any woman like to his mother. The old woman answered, and said, O my Lady, I am come hither, that I may obtain an everlasting reward. Then our Lady St. Mary said to her, Lay thine hands upon the infant; which when she had done, she became clean (or whole); and as she was going forth, she said, From henceforth all the days of my life I will attend upon, and be a servant of this infant.

IV. After this, when the shepherds came, and had made a fire, and they were exceedingly rejoicing, the heavenly Host appeared to them, praising and adoring the supreme God; and as the shepherds were engaged in the same employment, the cave at that time seemed like a glorious temple, because both the tongues of Angels and men united to adore and magnify God, on account of the birth of the Lord Christ. But when the old Hebrew woman saw

Videns vero anus illa Hebræa manifesta illa miracula, gratias Deo agebat, dicens, Gratias tibi ago, O Deus, Deus Israelis, propterea quod viderunt oculi mei nativitatem Servatâris mundi.

saw all these evident miracles, she gave praises to God, and said, *I thank thee, O God, thou God of Israel, for that mine eyes have seen the birth of the Saviour of the world.*

V. Cumque adesset tempus circumcisionis, dies scilicet octavus, quo circumcidendum esse puellum lex præcipit, circumciderunt illum in spelunca, sumisque anus illa Hebræa pelliculam istam (dicunt vero alii ipsam sumisse præsemen umbilici), eamque in alabaastro olei nardini vestiti recondidit. Erat autem illi filius sepalsarius, cui tradens illud, Cave, inquit, vendas alabastrum hoc unguenti nardini, quamvis trecenti denarii pro illo tibi offerantur. Atque hoc est alabastrum illud, quod Maria peccatrix sibi comparavit, et in caput et pedes Domini nostri Jesu Christi effudit, eoque capillino capitis sui exersit. Tum decem dierum spatio interjecto Hierosolymas eum detulerunt, et quadragesimo a nativitate dñe in Templo coram facie Domini stiterunt, offerentes pro ipso munera,

V. And when the time of his circumcision was come, viz. the eighth day, on which the law commanded the child to be circumcised, they circumcised him in the cave, and the old Hebrew woman took the fore-skin (others say she took the navel-string), and preserved it in an alabaster-box of old oil of spikenard. And she had a son who was a druggist, to whom she said, *Take heed thou sell not this alabaster-box of spikenard-ointment, although thou shouldest be offered three hundred pence for it.* Now this is that alabaster-box which Mary the sinner procured, and poured forth the ointment out of it upon the head and the feet of our Lord Jesus Christ, and wiped them off with the hairs of her head. Then after ten days they brought him to Jerusalem, and on the fortieth day from his birth they presented him in the Temple before the

Lord, making the proper offerings for him, according to the

quod in lege Moſis præſcriptum eſt ; ſcilicet, Omnis mas adaperiens vulvam ſanctus Dei vocabitur.

the requirement of the law of Moſes, viz. *that every male which opens the womb ſhall be called holy unto God.*

VI. Vidiſſetque illum Simeon ſenex inſtar columnæ lucis refulgentem, cum diva Maria Virgo, mater ejus, ulnis ſuis eum geſtaret, magnamque ex ipſo lætitiā perciperet; et circumdabant eum Angeli inſtar circuli, celebrantes illum, tanquam ſatellites Regi adſtantes. Simeon itaque propere ad divam Mariam accedens, et manus ſuas verſus illam extendens, dicebat Domino Chriſto; Nunc, O Domine mi, ſervus tuus in pace dimittitur, juxta verbum tuum; nam viderunt oculi mei miſericordiam tuam, quam paraſti ad ſalutem omnium gentium; lucem omnibus populis, et gloriam populo tuo Iſraeli. Aderat quoque Hanna prophetiſſa, et accedens, Deo gratias agebat, Dominamque Mariam felicem prædicabat.

VI. At that time old Simeon ſaw him ſhining as a pillar of light, when St. Mary the Virgin, his mother, carried him in her arms, and was filled with the greateſt pleaſure at the ſight. And the Angels ſtood around him, adoring him, as a King's guards ſtand around him. Then Simeon going near to St. Mary, and ſtretching forth his hands towards her, ſaid to the Lord Chriſt, *Now, O my Lord, thy ſervant ſhall depart in peace, according to thy Word; for mine eyes have ſeen thy mercy, which thou haſt prepared for the ſalvation of all nations; a light to all people, and the glory of thy people Iſrael.* Hanna the Propheteſs was alſo preſent, and drawing near, ſhe gave praïſes to God, and celebrated the happineſs of Mary.

VII. Et factum eſt, cum natus eſſet Dominus Jeſus Bethlehemi urbe Judææ, tempore Herodis Regis; ecce! magi venerunt ex Oriente Hieroſolymas, quemadmodum

VII. And it came to paſs, when the Lord Jeſus was born at Bethlehem, a city of Judæa, in the time of Herod the King; the wiſe men came from the Eaſt to Jeruſalem, according

prædixerat Zoradascht (Zoroaster), erantque cum ipsis munera, aurum, thus, et myrrha, et adoraverunt eum, sueque ipsi munera obtulerunt. Tunc Domina Maria sumsit unam ex illis tæniis (quibus involutus erat infans) eamque loco benedictionis illis tradidit; quam ipsi, tanquam munus præclarissimum ab ea acceperunt. Eademque hora apparuit illis Angelus in forma stellæ illius, quæ antea dux itineris ipsis fuerat, cujus lucis ductum secuti abierunt, donec in patriam suam reverterentur.

VIII. Aderant autem reges et principes illorum rogantes, ecquidnam vidissent aut egissent? Quomodo ivissent ac rediissent? Quos tandem itineris comites habuissent? Hi vero protulerunt illis fasciam istam, quam diva Maria ipsis tradiderat; quapropter celebrarunt festum, ignemque pro more suo succenderunt, eumque adoraverunt, et fasciam istam in illum conjecerunt, corripuitque eam ignis, et in sese comprehendit. Extincto autem igne, fasciam extraxe-

according to the prophecy of Zoradascht (Zoroaster), and brought with them offerings, viz. gold, frankincense and myrrh, and worshipped him, and offered to him their gifts. Then the Lady Mary took one of his swaddling-clothes (in which the infant was wrapped), and gave it to them instead of a blessing, which they received from her as a most noble present. And at the same time there appeared to them an Angel in the form of that star which had before been their guide in their journey; the light of which they followed till they returned into their own country.

VIII. On their return their kings and princes came to them, enquiring, What they had seen and done? What sort of journey and return they had? What company they had on the road? But they produced the swaddling-cloth which St. Mary had given to them, on account of which they kept a feast; and having, according to the custom of their country, made a fire, they worshipped it, and casting the swaddling-cloth into it, the fire took it, and kept it; and when the fire was put out,

runt illam, ac si ignis eam non attigisset; itaque cepērunt illam osculari, capitibusque suis et oculis imponere, dicentes, Hæc sane indubitata est veritas! utique magna res est, quod ignis conburnere illam aut perdere nequiverit. Inde sumerunt eam, et magnam cum veneratione in thesauris suis reposuerunt.

out, they took forth the swaddling-cloth unhurt, as much as if the fire had not touched it. Then they began to kiss it, and put it upon their heads, and their eyes, saying, *This is certainly an undoubted truth, and it is really surprising that the fire could not burn it, and consume it.* Then they took it, and with the greatest respect laid it up among their treasures.

IX. Herodes autem videns magos cunctari, nec ad sese reverti, accersivit sacerdotes et sapientes, et dixit illis; Docete me ubi nasciturus sit Christus: cumque illi respondissent, Bethlehem i urbe Judææ, cœpit animo volvere cædem Domini Jesu Christi. Tunc apparuit Angelus Domini Josepho in somnis, dixitque, Surge, accipe puerum et matrem ejus, et abi in Ægyptum, sub galli cantum; itaque surrexit, et profectus est.

IX. But Herod perceiving that the wise men did delay, and not return to him, called together the priests and wise men, and said, *Tell me in what place the Christ should be born?* And when they replied, *In Bethlehem, a city of Judæa;* he began to contrive in his own mind the death of the Lord Jesus Christ. But an Angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in his sleep, and said, *Arise, take the child and his mother, and go into Egypt as soon as the cock crows.* So he arose, and went.

X. Cumque reputaret seoum, quale futurum esset iter suum, supervenit ipsi aurora, ruperatque defatigatio itineris sellæ cingulum. Jamque appropinquabat urbi magnæ in

X. And as he was considering with himself about his journey, the morning came upon him. In the length of the journey the girths of the saddle broke. And now he drew near to a great city, in which

qua idolum erat, cui reliqua Egypti idola et numina munera et vota offerebant: aderatque huic idolo sacerdos ministrans ipsi, qui, quotiescunque Satanæ ex idolo isto loqueretur, incolis Ægypti et plagarum ejus illa referebat. Erat huic sacerdoti filius triennis a magna Dæmonum multitudine obsessus, qui plurima loquebatur et proferebat; et cum corripere illum Dæmones, laceratis vestibus suis nudus obambulabat, et homines lapidibus petebat. In vicinia autem istius idoli erat nosocomium illius urbis, quam cum ingressi essent Josephus et diva Maria, et nosocomium istud divertissent, valde consternati sunt cives ejus, conveneruntque omnes principes et sacerdotes idolorum ad idolum illud, rogantes, Ecquænam est ista consternatio et trepidatio, quæ regionem nostram invasit? Respondit eis idolum, Appulit huc Deus ignotus, qui revera est Deus, neque quicquam præter illum divino cultu dignus est, quoniam revera est filius Dei; ejus ad famam hæc regio contremuit, ejusque adventu commota est

which there was an idol, to which the other idols and gods of Egypt brought their offerings and vows. And there was by this idol a priest ministering to it, who, as often as Satan spake out of that idol, related the things he said to the inhabitants of Egypt, and those countries. This priest had a son three years old, who was possessed with a great multitude of Devils, who uttered many (strange) things; and when the Devils seized him, walked about naked, with his clothes torn, throwing stones at those whom he saw. Near to that idol was the inn of the city, into which when Joseph and St. Mary were come, and had turned into that inn, all the inhabitants of the city were astonished, and all the magistrates and priests of the idols assembled before that idol, and made enquiry there, saying, *What means all this consternation and dread, which has fallen upon all our country?* The idol answered them, *The unknown God is come hither, who is truly God; nor is there any one besides him, who is worthy of divine worship; for he is truly the Son of God.*

At the same of him this country trembled, and at his coming it
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et concussa, et nos a magnitudine imperii ejus valde timemus. Eademque hora idolum hoc corruit, et ad ruinam ejus, præter cæteros, omnes Ægypti incolæ concurrerunt^a.

is under the present commotion and consternation, and we ourselves are affrighted by the greatness of his power. And at the same instant this idol fell down, and at his fall all the inhabitants of Egypt, besides others, ran together.

XI. Filius autem sacerdotis, cum solitus illum morbus invaderet, nosocomium ingressus, Josephum ibi et divam Mariam offendit; quos cæteri omnes fuga deseruerant; et quoniam diva Domina Maria laverat fascias Domini Christi, easque in tiggillo suspenderat, puer iste Dæmoniacus unam harum fasciarum detraxit, eamque capiti suo imposuit, statimque Dæmones ex ore ipsius egredi, et corvorum et serpentum figura fugere cœperunt. Extempore igitur imperio Domini Christi sanatus est puer, et Domino, qui ipsum sanaverat, laudes canere et gratias agere cœpit. Quem cum sanitati pristinæ restitutum pater cerneret, Mi fili, inquit, quid tibi accidit? et qua ratione sanatus es? respondit filius, Cum agitent

XI. But the son of the priest, when his usual disorder came upon him, going into the inn, found there Joseph and St. Mary, whom all the rest had left behind and forsook; and when the lady St. Mary had washed the swaddling-clothes of the Lord Christ, and hanged them out to dry upon a post, the boy possessed with the Devil took down one of them, and put it upon his head, and presently the Devils began to come out of his mouth, and fly away in the shapes of crows and serpents. From that time the boy was healed by the power of the Lord Christ, and he began to sing praises, and give thanks to the Lord who had healed him. When his father saw him restored to his former state of health, he said, *My son, what has happened to thee, and by what*

means wert thou cured? The son answered, *When the Devils*

^a See above, Ch. XXII. of this Part.

me Dæmones, in nosocomium abiit, ibique foeminam decori vultus cum puero inveni, cujus illa fascias recens lotas in tiglio suspenderat: harum unam direptam dum capiti meo impono, reliquerunt me Dæmones, et fugerunt. Gaudio exultans Pater, Mi fili, ait, fieri potest, ut hic puer sit filius Dei vivi, qui cœlos et terram creavit; simulatque enim ad nos transiit, fractum est idolum, ceciderunt cunctaque numina, et a vi majore destructa sunt.

seised me, I went into the inn, and there found a very handsome woman with a boy, whose swaddling clothes she had just before washed, and hanged out upon a post: one of these I took and put it upon my head, and immediately the Devils left me, and fled away. At this the father exceedingly rejoiced, and said, My son, perhaps this boy is the son of the living God, who made the heavens, and the earth; for as soon as he came amongst us, the idol was broke, and all the Gods fell down, and were destroyed by a greater power.

XII. Hic impleta est propheta, quæ dicit, Ex Ægypto vocavi filium meum. Josephum vero et Mariam, cum idolum illud corruisse et perisse audirent, terror et tremor invasit adeo, ut dicerent, Cum essemus in terra Israelis, Herodes Jesum interficere voluit, et propterea omnes infantes Bethlehem ejusque viciniae occidit; neque dubium est, quin Ægyptii, si idolum hoc fractum corruisse audierint, nos igne sint crematuri.

XII. Now was fulfilled the prophecy which saith, *Out of Egypt I have called my son.* But Joseph and Mary, when they heard that the idol was fallen down and destroyed, were seised with fear and trembling, and said, *When we were in the land of Israel, Herod, intending to kill Jesus, slew for that purpose all the infants at Bethlehem, and that neighbourhood; and there is no doubt but the Egyptians, if they come to hear that this idol is broken and fallen down, will burn us with fire.*

XIII. Hinc ergo digressi
VOL. II.

XIII. They went therefore
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ad latibula latronum pervenerunt, qui prætereuntes viatores sarcinis modo et vestibus exspoliaverant, eosque vinctos ducebant. Audiebant vero latrones isti strepitum ingentem, qualis esse solet strepitus regis magno cum exercitu et equitatu, reboantibus tympanis, ex urbe sua egredientis; qua re perculsi, relicta omni præda, propere fugiebant. Surgentes itaque captivi, alter alterius vincula solvebant, et receptis sarcinis suis abeuntes, cum Josephum et Mariam accedentes viderent, rogabant, Ubinam ille rex, cujus adventantis strepitum audientes latrones nos reliquerunt, ita ut salvi evaserimus? Respondebat Josephus, Pone nos veniet.

and have left us, so that we are now come off safe? Joseph answered, He will come after us.

XIV. Deinde in aliam urbem venerunt, ubi mulier erat dæmoniaca, quam, cum noctu aliquando aquatum processisset, Satanas maledictus et rebellis infederat. Hæc neque vestimenta pati, neque in ædibus durare poterat, et quotiescunque catenis illam aut loris constringerent, disruptis

fore hence to the secret places of robbers, who robbed travellers, as they passed by, of their carriages and their clothes, and carried them away bound. These thieves (upon their coming) heard a great noise, such as the noise of a king with a great army, and many horse, and the trumpets founding, at his departure from his own city; at which they were so affrighted, as to leave all their booty behind them, and fly away in haste. Upon this the prisoners arose, and loosed each other's bonds, and taking each man his bags, they went away, and saw Joseph and Mary coming towards them, and enquired, *Where is that king, the noise of whose approach the robbers heard,*

XIV. Then they went into another city, where there was a woman possessed with a Devil, and in whom Satan, that cursed rebel, had taken up his abode. One night, when she went to fetch water, she could neither endure her clothes on, nor to be in any house; but as often as they tied her with chains or cords,

illis, nuda in loca deserta fugiebat, triviisque et sepulchretis insistens, homines lapidibus impetebat, ita ut propinquis suis magnæ calamitati esset. Hanc igitur conspicata diva Maria, miserta est, et confestim dereliquit eam Satanas, et in forma juvenis fugiens abiit, dicens, Væ mihi a te, Maria, et a filio tuo! Sic sanata est ista mulier a cruciatu suo, resipiscensque et propter nuditatem suam erubescens ad suos abiit, conspectum hominum fugitans, indutaque vestes suas patri et propinquis rationem status sui exposuit: qui, quoniam ex optimatibus civitatis erant, divam Mariam et Josephum magnâ cum veneratione hospitio exceperunt.

cords, she brake them, and went out into desert places, and sometimes standing where roads crossed, and in churchyards, would throw stones at men. When St. Mary saw this woman, she pitied her; whereupon Satan presently left her, and fled away in the form of a young man, saying, *Wo to me, because of thee, Mary, and thy son.* So the woman was delivered from her torment; but considering and perceiving herself naked, she blushed, avoided seeing any man, and having put on her clothes, went home, and gave an account of her case to her father and relations, who, as they were the best of the city, entertained St. Mary and Joseph with the greatest respect.

XV. Proxima luce, viatico probe instructi, ab illis digressi sunt, et circa vesperam ejus diei in aliud oppidum, in quo nuptiæ celebrabantur, devenerunt; sed technis Sathanæ maledictis, et opera veneficorum obmutuerat sponsa, ita ut hincere amplius nequireret. Divam itaque Dominam Mariam, cum filium su-

XV. The next morning having received a sufficient supply of provisions for the road, they went from them, and about the evening of the day arrived at another town, where a marriage was then about to be solemnized; but by the arts of Satan, and the practices of some forcerers, the bride was become so dumb, that she could not so

much as open her mouth. But when this dumb bride saw

um Dominum Christum ulnis gestans oppidum intraret, conspicata muta ista sponsa, manus suas versus Dominum Christum extendit, eumque ad se pertractum ulnis excepit, et arcte inhærescens basia frequentia illi impexit, crebro eum motitans, suoque corpori apprimens. Extemplo solutus est nodus linguæ ejus, et apertæ sunt aures ejus: Deoque, quod sanitatem ipsi restituisset, laudes et grates canere cœpit. Magna itaque hac nocte lætitia inter cives ejus oppidi oriebatur, adeo ut putarent Deum et Angelos ejus ad sese descendisse.

XVI. Triduum ibi substititerunt, magna in veneratione habiti, et apparatu splendido accepti. Viatico deinde instructi ab illis discesserunt, et in aliam urbem deveniunt, in qua, quod hominum celebritate floreret, pernottare desiderabant. Erat vero in hac urbe mulier nobilis, quæ cum aliquando lavatum ad flumen descendisset, ecce tibi! Satanæ maledictus in forma serpentis insiluerat in eam, et ventrem ejus circumplicaverat, singulisque nocti-

the Lady St. Mary entering into the town, and carrying the Lord Christ in her arms, she stretched out her hands to the Lord Christ, and took him in her arms, and closely hugging him very often kissed him, continually moving him, and pressing him to her body. Straightway the string of her tongue was loosed, and her ears were opened, and she began to sing praises unto God, who had restored her. So there was great joy among the inhabitants of the town that night, who thought that God and his Angels were come down among them.

XVI. In this place they abode three days, meeting with the greatest respect, and most splendid entertainment; and being then furnished by the people with provisions for the road, they departed and went to another city, in which they were inclined to lodge, because it was a famous place. There was in this city a gentlewoman, who, as she went down one day to the river to bathe, behold cursed Satan leaped upon her in the form of a serpent, and folded himself about her belly, and every night

bus super illam se extendebat. Hæc mulier conspicata Dominam divam Mariam, et Dominum Christum infantem in sinu ejus, rogabat Dominam divam Mariam, ut sibi infantem hunc gestandum et deosculandum traderet. Annuente illa, et vix admoto puero, discessit ab illa Satanas, et fugiens eam reliquit, neque unquam post hunc diem mulier illum vidit. Omnes ergo vicini Deum supremum laudabant; et mulier ista magna eos benignitate remunerabatur.

XVII. Postero die eadem mulier aquam odoratam sumpsit, ut Dominum Jesum lavaret; eoque loto aquam illam penes se reservavit. Eratque ibi puella, cujus corpus lepra album erat, quæ cum aqua hac perfunderetur et lavaretur, munda fuit ex tempore a lepra sua. Dicebat ergo populus: Nullum est dubium, quin Josephus et Maria et puer iste Dii sint, neque enim mortales videntur. Cum vero discessum pararent, accedens puella ista, quam lepra infestaverat, rogabat illos, ut se viæ comitem adsumerent.

would permit her to go along with them.

night lay upon her. This woman seeing the Lady St. Mary, and the Lord Christ the infant in her bosom, asked the Lady St. Mary, *that she would give her the child to kiss, and carry in her arms.* When she had consented, and as soon as the woman had moved the child, Satan left her, and fled away, nor did the woman ever afterwards see him. Hereupon all the neighbours praised the supreme God, and the woman rewarded them with ample beneficence.

XVII. On the morrow the same woman brought perfumed water to wash the Lord Jesus; and when she had washed him, she preserved the water. And there was a girl there, whose body was white with a leprosy, who being sprinkled with this water, and washed, was instantly cleansed from her leprosy. The people therefore said, *Without doubt Joseph and Mary, and that boy, are Gods, for they do not look like mortals.* And when they were making ready to go away, the girl, who had been troubled with the leprosy, came and desired they

XVIII. Annuebant, ibatque cum eis puella, donec in urbem venirent, in qua arx erat magni principis, cujus haud procul a diverforio ædes erant. Huc divertebant, cumque abiens puella ad uxorem principis intrasset, eamque tristem et plorantem reperiret, causam fletus sciscitabatur. Ne mirare, inquit illa, singultus meos; magna enim calamitate premor, quam nulli hominum narrare ausim. Atqui, ait puella, forte, si malum tuum secretum mihi commiseris, ejus apud me remedium invenietur. Tu ergo, respondit uxor principis, secretum hoc abscondens nulli mortalium narrabis! Ego nupta huic principi, regis instar multis terris imperitanti, diu ita cum ipso vixi, ut nullam ex me prolem fusciperet. Tandem ex eo concepi, sed filium (eheu!) leprosum peperì; quem ille conspectum pro suo non agnovit, mihi-que, Vel tu, ait, hunc interfice, vel nutrici cuiquam trade, tali loco educandum, unde nulla ejus fama audiat; jamque res tuas tibi habe, nunquam te rursus videbo. Itaque moerorem meum et conditionem miseram deplo-

XVIII. So they consented, and the girl went with them till they came to a city, in which was the palace of a great king, and whose house was not far from the inn. Here they staid, and when the girl went one day to the prince's wife, and found her in a sorrowful and mournful condition, she asked her the reason of her tears. She replied, *Wonder not at my groans, for I am under a great misfortune, of which I dare not tell any one. But, says the girl, if you will entrust me with your private grievance, perhaps I may find you a remedy for it. Thou therefore, says the prince's wife, shalt keep the secret, and not discover it to any one alive! I have been married to this prince, who rules as king over large dominions, and lived long with him, before he had any child by me. At length I conceived by him, but alas! I brought forth a leprous son; which, when he saw, he would not own to be his, but said to me, Either do thou kill him, or send him to some nurse in such a place, that he may be never heard of; and now take care of yourself; I will never see you more. So here I pine, lamenting*

rans contabui. Heu filium meum ! heu conjugem ! dixine tibi ? Inquit puella, Morbo tuo medicinam reperi, quam tibi spondeo. Nam ego quoque leprosa fui, sed mundavit me Deus, qui est Jesus, filius Dominæ Mariæ. Rogante autem muliere, Ubinam hic esset Deus, quem memoraret ; hic tecum, inquit puella, in eadem domo versatur. At qua ratione hoc fieri potest ? ait illa ; ubinam est ? Ecce, regerit puella, Josephum et Mariam ; infans vero, qui cum illis est, Jesus vocatur, atque is est, qui morbum meum et cruciatum sanavit. At qua ratione, ait illa, mundata es a lepra tua ? nonne id mihi indicabis ? Quidni ? inquit puella : a quam, qua lotum fuerat corpus ejus, accepi et in me effudi, et evanuit lepra mea. Surgens itaque uxor principis hospitio illos excepit, et splendidum Josepho convivium in magno virorum coetu paravit. Postera vero luce aquam odoratam sumpsit, qua Dominum Jesum ablueret, et filium suum, quem secum assumpserrat, eadem deinde aqua perfudit, et extemplo filius ejus

menting my wretched and miserable circumstances. Alas, my son ! alas, my husband ! Have I disclosed it to you ? The girl replied, *I have found a remedy for your disease, which I promise you, for I also was leprous, but God hath cleansed me, even he who is called Jesus, the son of the Lady Mary.* The woman enquiring, *Where that God was, whom she spake of ;* the girl answered, *He lodges with you here in the same house. But how can this be ?* says she : *where is he ?* Behold, replied the girl, *Joseph and Mary ; and the infant who is with them is called Jesus ; and it is he who delivered me from my disease and torment. But by what means,* says she, *were you cleansed from your leprosy ? Will not you tell me that ?* Why not ? says the girl : *I took the water with which his body had been washed, and poured it upon me, and my leprosy vanished.* The prince's wife then arose, and entertained them, providing a great feast for Joseph among a large company of men, and the next day took perfumed water to wash the Lord Jesus, and afterwards poured the same water upon

her son, whom she had brought with her, and her son was instantly

mundatus est a lepra sua. Grates ergo et laudes Deo canens, Beata, inquit, mater, quæ te peperit, O Jesu ! Itane homines, ejusdem tecum naturæ participes, aqua, qua corpus tuum perfusum fuit, mundas ? Ingentia porro munera Dominæ Mariæ obtulit, eamque eximio cum honore dimisit.

stantly cleansed from his leprosy. Then she sang thanks and praises unto God, and said, *Blessed is the mother that bare thee, O Jesus ! Dost thou thus cure men of the same nature with thyself, with the water with which thy body is washed ?* She then offered very large gifts to the Lady Mary, and sent her away with all imaginable respect.

XIX. Ad aliam deinde urbem pervenientes, in illa pernoctare desiderabant. Divertebant itaque ad virum recenti matrimonio devinctum, sed qui veneficio tactus uxore frui non poterat; cumque ea nocte penes ipsum pernoctassent, solutum est vinculum ejus. At oriente luce, cum ad iter sese accingerent, prohibuit eos sponsus, magnumque illis convivium apparavit.

XIX. They came afterwards to another city, and had a mind to lodge there. Accordingly they went to a man's house, who was newly married, but by the influence of forcerers could not enjoy his wife: but they lodging at his house that night, the man was freed of his disorder; and when they were preparing early in the morning to go forward on their journey, the new-married person hindered

them, and provided a noble entertainment for them.

XX. Postero ergo die profecti, et novæ urbi appropinquantes, tres conspiciunt mulieres a sepulchro quodam, magno cum fletu procedentes. Quas conspiciens diva Maria, inquit puellæ, quæ ipsam comitabatur, Abi et quære ex illis, quæ sit ipsarum conditio, et

XX. But going forward on the morrow, they came to another city, and saw three women going from a certain grave with great weeping. When St. Mary saw them, she spake to the girl who was their companion, saying, *Go and enquire of them, what is the*

quid ipsis calamitatis acciderit? Cumque a puella roga-
rentur, nihil respondentes,
viciffim interrogabant, Unde
vos, et quo tenditis? jam e-
nim præteriit dies, et nox
ingruit. Nos viatores sumus,
inquit puella, et diverforium,
in quo pernoctemus, quæri-
mus. Dicebant illæ, Ite no-
biscum, et apud nos pernoc-
tate. Secuti ergo illas, in
domum novam, ornatam, et
varia supellectile instructam,
introducebantur. Erat vero
tempus brumale, et puella mu-
lierum istarum conclave in-
gressa, rursus eas flentes et
lamentantes inveniebat. Ad-
stabat eis mulus, tegumento
serico instratus, ebano ex col-
lo ejus dependente, cui oscula
dabant, et pabulum subminis-
trabant. Dicente autem pu-
ella ista, Quam pulcher, O
Dominæ meæ, hic mulus est?
Respondabant illæ flentes, et
dicebant, Mulus hic, quem
cernis, noster fuit frater, ea-
dem hac matre nostra natus;
cum enim fato functus parens
noster magnas nobis opes re-
liquisset, atque hunc unicum
fratrem haberemus, commo-
dum illi matrimonium quæ-
rebamus, nuptias ei, more
hominum, parare gestiētes.

*the matter with them, and
what misfortune has befallen
them? When the girl asked
them, they made her no an-
swer, but asked her again,
Who are ye, and where are
ye going? For the day is far
spent, and night is at hand.
We are travellers, saith the
girl, and are seeking for an
inn to lodge at. They replied,
Go along with us, and lodge
with us. They then followed
them, and were introduced
into a new house, well fur-
nished with all sorts of fur-
niture. It was now winter-
time, and the girl went into
the parlour where these wo-
men were, and found them
weeping and lamenting, as
before. By them stood a
mule, covered over with silk,
and an ebony-collar hanging
down from his neck, whom
they kissed, and were feeding.
But when the girl said, *How
handsome, ladies, that mule is!*
they replied with tears, and
said, *This mule, which you see,
was our brother, born of this
same mother as we; for when
our father died, and left us a
very large estate, and we had
only this brother, and we en-
deavoured to procure him a
suitable match, and thought he
should be married as other
men,**

Sed mulieres zelotypiæ cestro percitæ illum nobis insciis fascinarunt: et nos quadam nocte, paulo ante auroram foribus ædium nostrarum probe occlusis, fratrem hunc nostrum mulum factum esse vidimus, qualem hodie illum cernis. Nos vero tristes sicuti vides, quia pater non erat nobis, quo nos solaremur, nullum in mundo sapientem aut magum aut incantatorem omisimus, quin illum accerferemus; sed nihil omnino nobis profuit. Itaque quoties pectora nostra mœrore opprimuntur, surgimus, et cum matre hac nostra sepulchrum patris nostri adimus, et postquam ibi flevimus, revertimur.

XXI. Hæc cum audisset puella ista, Animum recipite, inquit, et fletus omitte; etenim medicina mali vestri propinqua est, imo vobiscum est, et in medio ædium vestrarum. Nam ego quoque leprosa fui, sed ut istam vidi mulierem, et cum illa infantem hunc parvulum, cujus nomen est Jesus, aqua, qua illum abluerat mater, corpus meum perfudi, et munda evasi. Novi autem illum vestro quoque malo posse me-

men, some giddy and jealous (or invidious) women bewitched him without our knowledge; and we one night, a little before day, while the doors of the house were all fast shut, saw this our brother was changed into a mule, such as you now see him to be: and we in the melancholy condition in which you see us, having no father to comfort us, have applied to all the wise men, magicians, and diviners in the world, but they have been of no service to us. As often therefore as we find ourselves oppressed with grief, we rise and go with this our mother to our father's tomb, where when we have cried sufficiently, we return home.

XXI. When the girl had heard this, she said, *Take courage, and cease your fears, for you have a remedy for your afflictions near at hand, even among you, and in the midst of your house. For I was also leprous; but when I saw this woman, and this little infant with her, whose name is Jesus, I sprinkled my body with the water with which his mother had washed him, and I was presently made well. And I am certain that he is also capable*

deri; quare surgite, Dominam meam Mariam adite, atque ei in mansiunculam vestram deductæ secretum vestrum revelate, suppliciter illum rogantes, ut vestrum miseretur. Postquam mulieres sermonem puellæ audiverant, propere Dominam divam Mariam adibant, et ad sese introducebant, et coram ea confidentes flebant, et dicebant, O Domina nostra, diva Maria, miserere ancillarum tuarum; neque enim senior nobis superest, aut familiæ princeps, neque pater aut frater, qui coram nobis intret et exeat; sed mulus hic, quem vides, frater noster fuit, quem mulieres fascino talem, qualem cernis, effecerunt; te itaque rogamus, ut nostrum miseraris. Tunc fortem illarum dolens diva Maria, sublatum Dominum Jesum dorso muli imponit, et filio suo, Heus, inquit, Jesu Christe, sana hunc mulum eximia tua potentia, et formam illi humanam et rationalem, quali antea fuit præditus, restitue. Vix egressa erat vox ex ore Dominae divæ Mariæ, cum immutatus subito mulus in formam humanam transiret,

pable of relieving you under your distress. Wherefore arise, go to my mistress Mary, and when you have brought her into your own parlour, disclose to her the secret, at the same time earnestly beseeching him to compassionate your case. As soon as the women had heard the girl's discourse, they hastened away to the Lady St. Mary, introduced themselves to her, and sitting down before her, they wept, and said, O our Lady St. Mary, pity your handmaids, for we have no head of our family, no one elder than us; no father or brother to go in and out before us; but this mule, which you see, was our brother, which some women by witchcraft have brought into this condition which you see; we therefore intreat you to compassionate us. Hereupon St. Mary was grieved at their case, and taking the Lord Jesus, put him upon the back of the mule, and said to her son, O Jesus Christ, restore (or heal) according to thy extraordinary power this mule, and grant him to have again the shape of a man and a rational creature, as he had formerly. This was scarce said

by the Lady St. Mary, but the mule immediately passed into
a human

ac vir juvenis, et ab omni labe integer evaderet. Tunc ipse, ac mater ejus, et sorores, Dominam divam Mariam adorabant, ac puerum super capita sua elatum osculabantur, dicentes, Beata est genetrix tua, O Jesu, O Servator mundi! beati sunt oculi, qui felicitate aspectus tui fruntur.

a human form, and became a young man without any deformity. Then he and his mother and the sisters worshipped the Lady St. Mary, and lifting the child upon their heads, they kissed him, and said, *Blessed is thy mother, O Jesus, O Saviour of the world! Blessed are the eyes which are so happy as to see thee.*

XXII. Dicebant porro ambæ sorores matri suæ, Equidem frater noster auxilio Domini Jesu Christi, et benedictione puellæ istius, quæ Mariæ et filii ejus indicium nobis fecit, in pristinam formam restitutus est. Nunc igitur, cum frater noster sit cælebs, convenit ut puellam hanc, famulam illorum, nuptum ipsi demus. Hoc cum a diva Maria petissent, ipsaque annuisset illis, splendidas huic puellæ nuptias paraverunt; et mœrore in lætitiā, plancuque in risum commutato, gaudere, lætari, exsultare et canere cœperunt, ob excessum lætitiæ splendidissimis vestibus et monilibus ornatæ. Deinde Deum commemorantes et laudantes, dicebant, O Jesu, fili Davidis, qui mœrorem in lætitiā et lamenta-

XXII. Then both the sisters told their mother, saying, *Of a truth our brother is restored to his former shape by the help of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the kindness of that girl, who told us of Mary and her son. And inasmuch as our brother is unmarried, it is fit that we marry him to this girl their servant.* When they had consulted St. Mary in this matter, and she had given her consent, they made a splendid wedding for this girl, and so their sorrow being turned into gladness, and their mourning into mirth, they began to rejoice, and make merry, and sing, being dressed in their richest attire, with bracelets. Afterwards they glorified and praised God, saying, *O Jesus, son of David, who changest sorrow into gladness,*

in risum convertis ! Manferuntque ibi Josephus et Maria decem dies. Deinde perfecti sunt, magnis honoribus ab hisce hominibus affecti ; qui cum illis valedixissent, et a valedicendo revertissent, flebant, et præ cæteris puella.

gladness, and mourning into mirth ! After this Joseph and Mary tarried there ten days, then went away, having received great respect from those people ; who, when they took their leave of them, and returned home, cried, but especially the girl.

XXIII. Hinc digressi cum in terram desertam pervenissent, eamque latrociniis infestam esse audirent, Josephus et diva Maria regionem hanc noctu trajicere parabant. At inter eundum, ecce ! duos in via latrones conspiciunt dormientes, et cum illis multitudinem latronum, qui illorum focii erant, itidem stertentium. Erantque duo isti latrones, in quos incidebant, Titus et Dumachus ; dicebatque Titus Dumacho, Rogo te, ut istos libere sinas abire, ne focii nostri illos animadvertant ; recusante autem Dumacho, rursus Titus, Cape tibi, inquit, a me quadraginta drachmas, et pignus habe zonam hanc meam, quam dicto citius illi porrigebat, ut ne hisceret, aut loqueretur. Videntque Domina diva Maria hunc latronem ipsis bene-

XXIII. In their journey from hence they came into a desert country, and were told it was infested with robbers ; so Joseph and St. Mary prepared to pass through it in the night : and as they were going along, behold they saw two robbers asleep in the road, and with them a great number of robbers, who were their confederates also, asleep. The names of those two were Titus and Dumachus ; and Titus said to Dumachus, *I beseech thee let those persons go along quietly, that our company may not perceive any thing of them ;* but Dumachus refusing, Titus again said, *I will give thee forty groats, and as a pledge take my girdle, which he gave him before he had done speaking, that he might not open his mouth, or make a noise.* When the Lady St. Mary saw the kindness which this robber

facere, ait illi, Dominus Deus te ad dextram suam recipiet, et remissionem peccatorum tibi largietur. Et respondit Dominus Jesus, et dixit matri suæ, Post triginta annos, O mater, crucifigent me Judæi Hierosolymis, et duo isti latrones mecum una in crucem tollentur, Titus ad dextram meam, et Dumachus ad sinistram; et ab illo die præcedet me Titus in Paradisum. Cumque dixisset illa, Avertat hoc a te Deus, mi fili! Abierunt illinc ad urbem idolorum, quæ, postquam illi appropinquassent, in colles arenarum fuit mutata.

as they came near to it, was turned into hills of sand.

XXIV. Hinc ad sycamorum illam digressi sunt, quæ hodie Matarea vocatur, et produxit Dominus Jesus fontem in Matarea, in quo diva Maria tunicam ejus lavit; ex sudore autem, qui a Domino Jesu ibi defluxit, balsamum in illa regione provenit^a.

robber did shew them, she said to him, *The Lord God will receive thee to his right-hand, and grant thee the pardon of thy sins.* Then the Lord Jesus answered, and said to his mother, *When thirty years are expired, O mother, the Jews will crucify me at Jerusalem; and these two thieves shall be with me at the same time upon the cross, Titus on my right-hand, and Dumachus on my left, and from that time Titus shall go before me into Paradise; and when she had said, God forbid this should be thy lot, O my son, they went on to a city, in which were several idols; which, as soon*

XXIV. Hence they went to that sycamore-tree, which is now called Matarea; and in Matarea the Lord Jesus caused a well to spring forth, in which St. Mary washed his coat; and a balsam is produced, or grows, in that country, from the sweat which ran down there from the Lord Jesus.

XXV. Inde Memphin

XXV. Thence they pro-

^a See above, Chap. XXII. of this Volume.

descenderunt, visoque Pharaone, triennium in Ægypto subfiterunt, fecitque Dominus Jesus plurima in Ægypto miracula, quæ neque in Evangelio Infantiae, neque in Evangelio Perfecto scripta reperiuntur.

XXVI. Exacto vero triennio, rediit ex Ægypto, et reversus est, cumque Judæam attigissent, timuit Josephus illam intrare; audiens enim decessisse Herodem, et Archelaum filium in locum ejus successisse, metuit, et in Judæam abiit, apparuitque illi Angelus Dei, et dixit, O Joseph, abi in urbem Nazareth, atque ibi subsiste. (Mirum sane gestari sic, et circumferri per regiones Dominum regnum!)

XXVII. Ingressi deinde urbem Bethlehemum, videbant ibi morbos plurimos et difficiles, oculos infantum infestantes, ita ut plerique morerentur. Aderat ibi mulier, ægrotum habens filium, quem morti jam vicinum ad Dominam divam Mariam adduxit;

death, to the Lady St. Mary, who saw her when she was washing

ceeded to Memphis, and saw Pharaoh, and abode three years in Egypt, and the Lord Jesus did very many miracles in Egypt, which are neither to be found in the Gospel of the Infancy, nor in the Gospel of Perfection.

XXVI. At the end of three years he returned out of Egypt, and when he came near to Judea, Joseph was afraid to enter; for hearing that Herod was dead, and that Archelaus his son reigned in his stead, he was afraid; and when he went to Judea, an Angel of God appeared to him, and said, *O Joseph, go into the city Nazareth, and abide there.* (It is strange indeed, that he, who is the Lord of all countries, should be thus carried backward and forward through so many countries.)

XXVII. When they came afterwards into the city Bethlehem, they found there several very desperate distempers, which became so troublesome to children by seeing them, that most of them died. There was there a woman who had a sick son, whom she brought, when he was at the point of

quæ, cum Jesum Christum lavaret, illam conspexit. Dicebat vero mulier ista, O Domina mea Maria, respice filium hunc meum, qui diris cruciatibus torquetur. Et exaudiens illam diva Maria, Cape, inquit, aliquantum istius aquæ, qua filium meum abluï, eaque illum consperge. Accipiens ergo illa paululum de ista aqua, prout jusserat diva Maria, illa filium suum perfudit, qui vehementi agitatione lassatus in soporem lapsus est, et cum paululum dormiisset, salvus postea et sanus evigilavit. Mater hoc eventu admodum læta, divam Mariam rursus adibat, dicebatque illi diva Maria, Grätias age Deo, qui filium hunc tuum sanavit.

XXVIII. Erat ibidem alia mulier, vicina ejus, cujus modo filius sanatus erat. Hujus filius, cum eodem morbo laboraret, jamque fere clausi essent ejus oculi, dies noctesque ejulabat. Huic sanati infantis genetrix, Quare, inquit, non defers filium tuum ad divam Mariam, sicuti ego filium meum ad illam detuli, cum in agone mortis versaretur? qui sanatus est aqua illa, qua cor-

nies of death; and he was cured by that water, with which
the

washing Jesus Christ. Then said the woman, *O my Lady Mary, look down upon this my son, who is afflicted with most dreadful pains.* St. Mary hearing her, said, *Take a little of that water with which I have washed my son, and sprinkle it upon him.* Then she took a little of that water, as St. Mary had commanded, and sprinkled it upon her son, who being wearied with his violent pains, was fallen asleep; and after he had slept a little, awaked perfectly well and recovered. The mother being abundantly glad of this success, went again to St. Mary, and St. Mary said to her, *Give the praise to God, who hath cured this thy son.*

XXVIII. There was in the same place another woman, a neighbour of her, whose son was now cured. This woman's son was afflicted with the same disease, and his eyes were now almost quite shut, and she was lamenting for him day and night. The mother of the child which was cured said to her, *Why do you not bring your son to St. Mary, as I brought my son to her, when he was in the very ag-*
the

pus Jesu filii ejus ablutum fuerat. Quæ cum ex ea audivisset mulier ista, ipsa quoque abiit, sumptaque eadem aqua, filium suum abluit, cujus extemplo corpus et oculi ad sanitatem pristinam redierunt. Hanc quoque diva Maria, cum filium suum ad ipsam detulisset, ejusque casum ipsi aperuisset, gratias Deo pro recuperata filii valetudine agere, neque cuiquam, quod evenerat, narrare jussit.

the body of her son Jesus was washed? When the woman heard her say this, she also went, and having procured the same water, washed her son with it, whereupon his body and his eyes were instantly restored to their former state. And when she brought her son to St. Mary, and opened his case to her, she commanded her to give thanks to God for the recovery of her son's health, and to tell no one what had happened.

XXIX. Erant in eadem urbe duæ scæminæ unius viri uxores, quarum utrique erat filius ægrotus. Harum altera Maria vocabatur, et filio ejus Kaljufo erat nomen. Surgebat ista, et adsumpto filio suo Dominam divam Mariam matrem Jesu adibat, oblatoque ei perpulchro mantili, O Domina mea Maria, inquit, accipe a me hoc mantile, et pro illo fasciolam unam mihi redde. Faciebat hoc Maria, abiensque mater Kaljusi confectam ex illa tunicam filio suo induebat. Sic sanatus est morbus ejus; at filius rivalis diem obiit. Hinc orto inter illas diffidio, cum alternis heb-

XXIX. There were in the same city two wives of one man, who had each a son sick. One of them was called Mary, and her son's name was Caljuf (or Caleb). She arose, and taking her son, went to the Lady St. Mary, the mother of Jesus, and offered her a very handsome carpet, saying, *O my Lady Mary, accept this carpet of me, and instead of it give me a small swaddling-cloth.* To this Mary agreed; and when the mother of Caleb was gone, she made a coat for her son of the swaddling-cloth, put it on him, and his disease was cured; but the son of the other wife died. Hereupon there arose between

them a difference in doing the business of the family by turns,

domadibus munia domestica obirent, adessentque vices Mariæ matris Kaljusi, hæc panem coctura furnum calefaciebat, et farinam petitura, filio suo Kaljuso ad furnum relicto, foras prodibat. Hunc æmula ejus solum conspicata (furnus autem succenso igne æstuebat)prehendit et in furnum coniecit, ac sese inde subduxit. Rediens Maria vidensque filium suum Kaljusum in medio furno jacentem ridere, furnumque refriguisse, ac si nihil in eum ignis coniectum foret, cognovit æmulam suam in ignem immisisse. Extractum ergo eum ad divam Dominam Mariam detulit, eidemque casum ejus narravit. Cui illa, Tace, inquit, nam metuo tibi, si ista divulgaberis. Postea æmula ejus aquam haustura ad puteum processit, et conspicata Kaljusum juxta puteum ludentem, neque quenquam mortalium adesse, prehensum illum in puteum deturbavit. Cumque homines aquam ex puteo petituri accessissent, videbant puerum istum in superficie aquæ sedentem, quem demissis funibus extrahebant; ceperatque eos magna admiratio istius pueri, ita ut Deum

exceedingly surprised at the child, and praised God. Then came

turns, each her week; and when the turn of Mary the mother of Caleb came, and she was heating the oven to bake bread, and went away to fetch the meal, she left her son Caleb by the oven; whom the other wife, her rival, seeing to be by himself, took and cast him into the oven, which was very hot, and then went away. Mary on her return saw her son Caleb lying in the middle of the oven laughing, and the oven quite as cold as though it had not been before heated, and knew that her rival the other wife had thrown him into the fire. When she took him out, she brought him to the Lady St. Mary, and told her the story; to whom she replied, *Be quiet, for I am concerned lest thou shouldst make this matter known.* After this her rival (the other wife) as she was drawing water at the well, and saw Caleb playing by the well, and that no one was near, took him, and threw him into the well. And when some men came to fetch water from the well, they saw the boy sitting on the superficies of the water, and drew him out with ropes, and were

came

celebrarent. Accedens vero mater ejus, sublatum illum ad Dominam divam Mariam detulit, plorans et dicens; O Domina mea, vide, quid æmula mea filio meo fecerit, et quomodo in puteum illum deturbaverit; neque dubium mihi est, quin aliquando exitii causa ipsi sit futura. Inquit illi diva Maria, Deus injuriam tibi factam vindicabit. Paucis diebus interjectis, cum aquam haustura ad puteum æmula processisset, pes ejus funi implicabatur, ita ut præceps in puteum decideret; quique ad auxilium ipsi ferendum accurrerant, caput ejus fractum et ossa contusa inveniebant. Sic malo fato periit, et impletum in ea fuit dictum illud authoris: Puteum foderunt, et alte humum egresserunt; sed ceciderunt in foveam, quam paraverant.

came the mother, and took him and carried him to the Lady St. Mary, lamenting and saying, *O my Lady, see what my rival hath done to my son, and how she hath cast him into the well, and I do not question but one time or other she will be the occasion of his death.* St. Mary replied to her, *God will vindicate your injured case.* Accordingly a few days after, when the other wife came to the well to draw water, her foot was entangled in the rope, so that she fell headlong into the well, and they who ran to her assistance found her skull broke, and her bones bruised. So she came to a bad end, and in her was fulfilled that saying of (some) author, *They digged a well, and made it deep, but fell themselves into the pit which they prepared.*

XXX. Alia illic mulier geminos habebat filios morbo pariter languentes: defunctoque altero, alter quoque in vicinia mortis versabatur; quem in ulnas susceptum ad Dominam divam Mariam, vim lachrymarum effundens, detulit; et, O Domina mea, inquit, opem mihi fer, et succurre; nam duos habui filios,

XXX. Another woman in that city had likewise two sons sick, and when one was dead, the other, who lay at the point of death, she took in her arms to the Lady St. Mary, and in a flood of tears addressed herself to her, saying, *O my Lady, help and relieve me; for I had two sons, the*

quorum alterum modo sepelivi, alterum vero in vicinia mortis constitutum cerno: vide quomodo gratiam a Deo petam, eumque supplex rogem; cœpitque dicere, O Domine, tu es clemens, et misericors, et pius! duos mihi dedisti filios, quorum alterum cum ad te receperis, hunc saltem mihi relinque! Diva itaque Maria ardorem lachrymarum ejus conspiciens, miserta est ejus, et, Heus tu, ait, filium tuum in lecto filii mei colloca, ejusque vestibus ipsum contege. Cumque collocasset eum in lecto, in quo Christus jacebat (modo autem oculi ejus in æternam noctem claudebantur); simulatque odor vestium Domini Jesu Christi puerum hunc contigit, oculi ejus aperiebantur, magnaque voce matrem inclamans, panem poscebat, eumque acceptum fugebat. Tunc mater ejus, O Domina Maria, inquit, nunc cognovi virtutem Dei in te habitare, adeo ut filius tuus sanet pueros ejusdem cum ipso naturæ participes, simulatque vestes ejus attigerint. Hic puer ista ratione sanatus, is est qui in Evangelio Bartholomæus vocatur.

one I have just now buried, the other I see is just at the point of death: behold, how I (earnestly) seek favour from God, and pray to him! Then she said, O Lord, thou art gracious, and merciful, and kind; thou hast given me two sons; one of them thou hast taken to thyself, O spare me this other. St. Mary then perceiving the greatness of her sorrow, pitied her, and said, *Do thou place thy son in my son's bed, and cover him with his clothes.* And when she had placed him in the bed wherein Christ lay (at which moment his eyes were just closed by death); as soon as ever the smell of the garments of the Lord Jesus Christ reached the boy, his eyes were opened, and calling with a loud voice to his mother, he asked for bread, and when he had received it, he sucked it. Then his mother said, *O Lady Mary, now I am assured that the powers of God do dwell in you, so that thy son can cure children who are of the same sort as himself, as soon as they touch his garments.* This boy, who was thus cured, is the same who in the Gospel is called Bartholomew.

XXXI. Erat porro ibi mulier leprosa, quæ adiens Dominam divam Mariam matrem Jesu dicebat, Domina mea, juva me. Respondebat vero diva Maria; Ecquodnam auxilium petis? Aurumne, an argentum, an ut corpus tuum a lepra mundetur? Quis autem, rogabat mulier ista, hoc mihi dare posset? Cui diva Maria, Paululum, inquit, expecta, donec filium meum Jesum laverim, et in lecto reposuerim. Exspectabat mulier, prout jussa erat; et Maria, cum Jesum in lecto collocasset, aquam, qua corpus ejus abluerat, mulieri porrigens, Cape, inquit, aliquantum istius aquæ, et in corpus tuum effunde; quod cum fecisset, extempore mundata Deum celebrabat, et grates ipsi agebat.

XXXII. Abiit ergo, postquam triduum apud illam mansisset; et in urbem proveniens, vidit ibi virum principem, qui alterius principis filiam duxerat uxorem: sed cum vidisset mulierem, conspexit inter oculos ejus signa lepræ, stellæ instar; adeoque matrimonium dissolutum et irritum declaratum fuerat. Has

XXXI. Again, there was a leprous woman, who went to the Lady St. Mary, the mother of Jesus, and said, *O my Lady, help me.* St. Mary replied, *What help dost thou desire? Is it gold or silver, or that thy body be cured of its leprosy? Who,* says the woman, *can grant me this?* St. Mary replied to her, *Wait a little till I have washed my son Jesus, and put him in bed.* The woman waited, as she was commanded; and Mary, when she had put Jesus in bed, giving her the water with which she had washed his body, said, *Take some of the water, and pour it upon thy body;* which when she had done, she instantly became clean, and praised God, and gave thanks to him.

XXXII. Then went she away, after she had abode with her three days; and going into the city, she saw a certain prince, who had married another prince's daughter; but when he came to see her, he perceived between her eyes the signs of the leprosy like a star, and thereupon declared the marriage dissolved and void. When the woman

saw

mulier ista in eo statu conspiciata, mœstas admodum et fletu largo ora rigantes; causam ex illis lachrymarum quærebat. At illæ, Ne, inquiunt, in statum nostrum inquirito; malum enim nostrum nulli mortalium narrare, aut alieno cuiquam aperire possumus. Instabat tamen illa, utque illud sibi committerent, rogabat; sese enim fortasse remedium ejus commonstraturam: cum ergo monstrarent ipsi puellam, et signa lepræ, quæ inter ejus oculos apparebant; Ego quoque, inquit mulier, quam hic videtis, eodem morbo laboravi, et Bethlehemum negotiorum causa profecta sum: ibi speluncam quandam ingressa, mulierem nomine Mariam vidi, cui filius erat, qui Jesus vocabatur: hæc leprosam me videns indoluit, aquamque, qua filii sui corpus laverat, mihi porrexit; ea corpus meum perfudi, et munda evasi. Dicebant ergo scemina illæ; Numquid, O Domina, surges, et nobiscum proficiscens, Dominam divam Mariam nobis commonstrabis? Annuente illa surrexerunt, et ad Dominam divam Mariam pervenerunt, splendida secum munera ferentes. Cumque intrassent, et mu-

saw these persons in this condition, exceeding sorrowful, and shedding abundance of tears, she enquired of them the reason of their crying: they replied, *Enquire not into our circumstances; for we are not able to declare our misfortunes to any person whatsoever.* But she still pressed and desired them to communicate their case to her; intimating, that perhaps she might be able to direct them to a remedy. So when they shewed the young woman to her, and the signs of the leprosy, which appeared between her eyes, she said, *I also, whom ye see in this place, was afflicted with the same distemper, and going on some business to Bethlehem, I went into a certain cave, and saw a woman named Mary, who had a son called Jesus. She seeing me to be leprous was concerned for me, and gave me some water with which she had washed her son's body; with that I sprinkled my body, and became clean.* Then said these women, *Will you, Mistress, go along with us, and shew the Lady St. Mary to us?* To which she consenting, they arose, and went to the Lady St. Mary, taking with them very noble presents. And
when

nera illa ipsi obtulissent, puellam istam leprosam, quam adduxerant, ipsi monstrabant. Dicebat ergo diva Maria, Misericordia Domini Jesu Christi habitet super vos, et paululum aquæ illius, qua corpus Jesu Christi abluerat, illis porrigens, hac miseram lavare jubebat; quod cum fecissent, extemplo sanata est, ipsique et omnes adstantes Deum celebrabant: læti ergo et in urbem suam reduces Domino propterea laudes canebant. Audiens vero princeps sanatam esse uxorem suam, domum illam recipiebat, et secundas nuptias celebrans, pro recuperata uxoris sanitate grates Deo agebat.

riage, giving thanks unto God
health.

when they came in, and offered their presents to her, they shewed the leprous young woman whom they brought with them to her. Then said St. Mary, *The Mercy of the Lord Jesus Christ rest upon you*; and giving them a little of that water, with which she had washed the body of Jesus Christ, she bad them wash the diseased person with it; which when they had done, she was presently cured; so they, and all who were present, praised God; and being filled with joy, they went back to their own city, and gave praises to God on that account. Then the prince hearing that his wife was cured, took her home, and made a second marriage, giving thanks unto God for the recovery of his wife's health.

XXXIII. Erat quoque ibi puella, quæ a Satana affligebatur: maledictus enim iste forma ingentis draconis subinde illi apparebat, eamque deglutire cupiebat; omnem quoque ejus sanguinem exsuxerat, ita ut cadaveri similis remaneret. Ipsa ergo, quotiescunque ad illam accederet, manibus super capite constrictis, vociferabatur et dicebat: Væ, væ mihi! quod nemo

XXXIII. There was there also a girl, who was afflicted by Satan; for that cursed Spirit did frequently appear to her in the shape of a dragon, and was inclined to swallow her up, and had so sucked out all her blood, that she looked like a dead carcase. As often as she came to herself, with her hands wringed about her head, she would cry out, and say, *Wo, Wo is me, that*

there

adeſt, qui a peſſimo iſto dracone me liberet. Pater autem et mater ejus, et omnes qui circa ipſam erant, aut ipſam videbant, contriſtabantur ſuper illa, et flebant, omneſque, qui aderant, flebant et lamentabantur, præſertim cum ploraret ipſa, et diceret, O fratres mei, et amici, nemone eſt, qui ab homicida iſto me liberet? Filia vero principis, quæ a lepra ſua mundata fuerat, audiens vocem puellæ iſtius, aſcendit in caſtelli ſui tectum, viditque illam manibus ſuper capite complicatis ſletus largos edentem, totumque circumſtantium cœtum pariter plorantem. Rogabat itaque maritum iſtius obſeſſæ, viveretne mater uxoris ipſius? Qui cum utrumque ejus parentem vivere dixiſſet, matrem ejus, inquit illa, ad me mitte. Quam ut veniſſe vidit, Hæccine, inquit, obſeſſa filia tua eſt? Ita, inquit illa triſtis et plorans; Ex me, O Domina, eſt genita. Reſpondebat filia principis, Occulta ſecretum meum; nam fateor tibi, me fuiſſe leproſam, ſed mundavit me Domina Maria, mater Jeſu Chriſti. Quod ſi

there is no one to be found, who can deliver me from that impious dragon! Her father and mother, and all who were about her and ſaw her, mourned and wept over her; and all who were preſent would eſpecially be under ſorrow and in tears, when they heard her bewailing, and ſaying, My brethren and friends, is there no one who can deliver me from this murderer? Then the prince's daughter, who had been cured of her leproſy, hearing the complaint of that girl, went upon the top of her caſtle, and ſaw her with her hands twiſted about her head, pouring out a flood of tears, and all the people that were about her in ſorrow. She then aſked the huſband of the poſſeſſed perſon, Whether his wife's mother was alive? He told her, That her father and mother were both alive. Then ſhe ordered her mother to be ſent to her; to whom, when ſhe ſaw her coming, ſhe ſaid, Is this poſſeſſed girl thy daughter? She moaning and bewailing ſaid, Yes, Madam, I bore her. The prince's daughter answered, Diſcloſe the ſecret of her caſe to me, for I

confels to you that I was leprous, but the Lady Mary, the mother of Jeſus Chriſt, healed me. And if you deſire your daughter

filiam tuam sanitati pristinæ restitui desideras, Bethlehem illam abducens, Mariam matrem Jesu require, et filiam tuam sanatum iri confide; credo enim te sanata filia lætam reversuram. Statim ab extrema parte verbi surrexit illa, et cum filia sua ad locum designatum profecta, Dominam divam Mariam adiit, eique filiz suæ statum aperuit. Audita oratione ejus diva Maria obtulit illi paululum aquæ illius, qua corpus filii sui Jesu abluerat, idque in corpus filiz effundere jussit. Data quoque ipsi fasciola ex panniculis Domini Jesu, Cape, inquit, hanc fasciolam, eamque hosti tuo, quotiescunque illum videris, ostende; et in pace illas dimisit.

thine enemy as often as thou seest him; and she sent them away in peace.

XXXIV. Cum ergo digressæ ab illa in civitatem suam rediissent, adessetque tempus, quo Satanas iste percellere eam solebat, eadem hora apparuit illi hic maledictus sub forma ingentis draconis, eumque videns puella expavit. Cui mater, Abjice timorem, O filia, et sine illum, donec

daughter to be restored to her former state, take her to Bethlehem, and enquire for Mary the mother of Jesus, and doubt not but your daughter will be cured; for I do not question but you will come home with great joy at your daughter's recovery. As soon as ever she had done speaking, she arose and went with her daughter to the place appointed, and to Mary, and told her the case of her daughter. When St. Mary had heard her story, she gave her a little of the water with which she had washed the body of her son Jesus, and bad her pour it upon the body of her daughter. Likewise she gave her one of the swaddling-cloths of the Lord Jesus, and said, Take this swaddling-cloth, and shew it to

XXXIV. After they had left that city, and returned home, and the time was come in which Satan was wont to seize her, in the same moment this cursed Spirit appeared to her in the shape of a huge dragon, and the girl seeing him was afraid. The mother said to her, *Be not afraid, daughter; let him alone till he*
come

propius ad te accesserit ; tum fasciolam, quam dedit nobis Domina Maria, ipsi obverte, et quid futurum sit, videamus. Accedente itaque Satana isto, qui draconem terribilem referebat, corpus puellæ præ timore inhorruit ; sed simulatque fasciolam istam capiti suo superimpositam, et oculis obvolutam ostenderet, exibant ex fasciola flammæ et prunæ ignis, atque in draconem spargebantur. Hem ! quantum hoc miraculum, quod accidebat, simulatque draco fasciolam Domini Jesu adspiceret ; exibat enim ignis, et in caput ejus atque oculos spargebatur, ita ut magna voce exclamaret ; Quid mihi tecum est, O Jesu fili Mariæ ! Quo a te fugiam ? ac territus admodum, et retrocedens, puellam relinqueret. Sic puellæ huic negotium facessere desiit ; quæ grates Deo et laudes canebat, et cum ipsa omnes, qui miraculo isti præsentés affuerant.

XXXV. Alia ibidem mulier degebat, cujus filius a Satana vexabatur. Hic Judas nomine, quotiescunque Satanas iste illum corripiebat,

come nearer to thee ; then shew him the swaddling-cloth, which the Lady Mary gave us, and we shall see the event. Satan then coming like a dreadful dragon, the body of the girl trembled for fear ; but as soon as she had put the swaddling-cloth upon her head, and about her eyes, and shewed it to him, presently there issued forth from the swaddling-cloth flames and burning coals, and fell upon the dragon. Oh ! how great a miracle was this, which was done : as soon as the dragon saw the swaddling-cloth of the Lord Jesus, fire went forth, and was scattered upon his head and eyes ; so that he cried out with a loud voice, What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou son of Mary ? Whither shall I flee from thee ? So he drew back much affrighted, and left the girl. And she was delivered from this trouble, and sang praises and thanks to God, and with her all who were present at the working of the miracle.

XXXV. Another woman likewise lived there, whose son was possessed by Satan. This boy, named Judas, as often as Satan seized him, was

quofvis præfentes dentibus appetebat, ac, fi neminem juxta fe inveniret, fuas ipfe manus et cætera membra morfu vexabat. Audiens ergo mater hujus miferi famam divæ Mariæ et filii ejus Jefu, furrexìt propere, ac filium fuum Judam in ulnas fublaturum ad Dominam Mariam detulit. Interim Jacobus et Jofes commodum Dominum Jefum infantem abduxerant, ut cum cæteris infantibus colluderent, ac domo egrefsi confederant, et cum illis Dominus Jefus. Accedebat vero Judas obfefus, et ad dextram Jefu affidens, cum agigaret eum pro confuetudine fua Satanas, dentibus Dominum Jefum appetebat; et quoniam attingere non poterat, latus ipfius dextrum percutiebat, ita ut Jefus ploraret. Eademque hora fugiens exivit ex puero ifto Satanas, cani rabido fimilis. Hic autem puer, qui Jefum percuflit, et ex quo Satanas fub forma canis exivit, fuit Judas Ifchariotes, qui illum Judæis prodidit; et idem ejus latus, in quo percuflerat illum Judas, Judæi lancea confixerunt.

was inclined to bite all that were prefent; and if he found no one elfe near him, he would bite his own hands and other parts. But the mother of this miferable boy, hearing of St. Mary and her fon Jefus, arofe prefently, and taking her fon in her arms, brought him to the Lady Mary. In the mean time, James and Jofes had taken away the infant the Lord Jefus, to play at a proper feafon with other children, and when they went forth, they fat down, and the Lord Jefus with them. Then Judas, who was poffeffed, came and fat down at the right hand of Jefus; when Satan was acting upon him as ufual, he went about to bite the Lord Jefus, and becaufe he could not do it, he ftruck Jefus on his right fide, fo that he cried out, and in the fame moment Satan went out of the boy, and ran away like a mad dog. This fame boy who ftruck Jefus, and out of whom Satan went in the form of a dog, was Judas Ifcariot, who betrayed him to the Jews. And that fame fide, on which Judas ftruck him, the Jews pierced with a fpear.

XXXVI. Cum vero Dominus Jesus septimum a natiuitate sua annum complevisset, die quodam cum aliis pueris sodalibus suis coætaneis versabatur, qui ludentes, varias ex luto formas fingebant, asinos, boves, volucres, et alia his similia; et unusquisque suum jactans opus super cæterorum plasmate efferre conabatur. Tunc Dominus Jesus dicebat pueris, Ego illis, quas feci, figuris præcipiam, ut incederent; eademque hora subsiliebant, et cum reverti illas juberet, revertebantur. Fecerat autem avium passerumque figuras, quæ, cum volare ipsas juberet, volabant, et cum stare juberentur, consistebant; quod si cibum et potum illis porrigeret, edebant et bibeant. Cum deinde abiissent pueri et parentibus ista suis retulissent, dicebant illis patres ipsorum: Cavete in posterum, O filii, a consortio ejus, quoniam veneficus est; fugite illum et vitate, neque ab hoc momento unquam cum ipso colludite.

XXXVII. Quodam etiam die Dominus Jesus, cum pueris ludens et discurrens, offi-

XXXVI. And when the Lord Jesus was seven years of age, he was on a certain day with other boys his companions about the same age, who, when they were at play, made clay into several shapes, viz. asses, oxen, birds, &c. each boasting of his work, and endeavouring to excel the rest. Then the Lord Jesus said to the boys, *I will command those figures which I have made to walk*: and immediately they moved, and when he commanded them to return, they returned. He had also made the figures of birds and sparrows, which, when he commanded to fly, did fly, and when he commanded to stand still, did stand still; and if he gave them meat and drink, they did eat and drink. When at length the boys went away, and related these things to their parents, their fathers said to them, *Take heed, children, for the future of his company, for he is a sorcerer; shun and avoid him, and from henceforth never play with him.*

XXXVII. On a certain day also, when the Lord Jesus was playing with the boys,

cinam tinctoris præteribat, cujus nomen erat Salem; e-rantque in officina ejus panni plurimi civium illius urbis, quos variis coloribus imbuere parabant. Ingressus vero Dominus Jesus officinam tinctoris, pannos hosce universos sustulit, et in cortinam tinctoriam conjecit. Rediens Salem pannosque perditos cernens, voce maxima exclamare cœpit, et Dominum Jesum objurgare, dicens; Quid fecisti mihi, O fili Mariæ? et me et cives meos injuria affecisti; quilibet enim commodum sibi colorem expetit, tu vero adveniens omnia perdidisti. Respondebat Dominus Jesus, Cujuscunque panni colorem mutare volueris, hunc ego tibi immutabo; statimque pannos ex cortina producere cœpit, singulos illo colore imbutos, quem tinctor desiderabat, donec omnes eduxisset. Hoc prodigium atque miraculum videntes Judæi Deum celebrabant.

XXXVIII. Josephus autem, per totam urbem circumiens, Dominum Jesum secum ducebat, cum propter ar-

boys, and running about, he passed by a dyer's shop, whose name was Salem; and there were in his shop many pieces of cloth belonging to the people of that city, which they designed to dye of several colours. Then the Lord Jesus going into the dyer's shop, took all the cloths, and threw them into the furnace. When Salem came home, and saw the cloths spoiled, he began to make a great noise, and to chide the Lord Jesus, saying, *What hast thou done to me, O thou son of Mary? Thou hast injured both me and my neighbours; they all desired their cloths of a proper colour; but thou hast come, and spoiled them all.* The Lord Jesus replied, *I will change the colour of every cloth to what colour thou desirest;* and then he presently began to take the cloths out of the furnace, and they were all dyed of those same colours which the dyer desired; and when the Jews saw this surprising miracle, they praised God.

XXXVIII. And Joseph, wheresoever he went in the city, took the Lord Jesus with him, where he was sent for
to

tificium ejus homines illum accerferent, ut portas ipsis, aut mulcetraria, aut cribra, aut arcas conficeret; eratque cum ipso Dominus Jesus, quocunque proficisceretur. Quotiescunque ergo Josepho aliquid operis sui, longius aut brevius, latius sive angustius faciendum esset, Dominus Jesus manum suam versus illud extendebat, ac statim, prout vellet Josephus, res succedebat; ita ut opus non esset ipsi quidquam manu sua perficere, quia nec admodum peritus erat artis fabrilis.

XXXIX. Quodam vero die accersivit illum rex Hierosolymæ, et, Volo, inquit, Josephus, ut solium mihi construas ad mensuram loci illius, in quo sedere consuevi. Paruit Josephus, ac statim operi manum admovens, biennium in regia mansit, donec fabricam istius solii absolvisset. Cum itaque illud in sede sua collocaret, ab unoquoque latere duas illud spithamas a præfinita mensura deficere advertit. Quo viso rex Josepho admodum irascebatur, et Josephus iram regis metuens incoenatus dormiebat, cum nihil omnino gustasset. Tunc

to work, to make gates or milk-pails, or sieves, or boxes; the Lord Jesus was with him, wheresoever he went. And as often as Joseph had any thing in his work, to make longer or shorter, or wider or narrower, the Lord Jesus would stretch his hand towards it, and presently it became as Joseph would have it; so that he had no need to finish any thing with his own hands, for he was not very skilful at his carpenter's trade.

XXXIX. On a certain time the King of Jerusalem sent for him, and said, *I would have thee make me a throne, of the same dimensions with that place in which I commonly sit.* Joseph obeyed, and forthwith began the work, and continued two years in the king's palace before he finished it. And when he came to fix it in its place, he found it wanted two spans on each side of the appointed measure. Which when the King saw, he was very angry with Joseph; and Joseph, afraid of the king's anger, went to bed without his supper, taking not any thing to eat.

rogante Domino Jesu, Quare metueret? Quoniam, inquit Josephus, opus, in quo biennium integrum elaboravi, perdidi. Cui Dominus Jesus, Omitte, inquit, timorem, neque animum abjice; tu unum istius solii latus apprehendes, et ego alterum, ut ad justam illud mensuram redigamus. Cumque fecisset Josephus, quemadmodum dixerat Dominus Jesus, et uterque a latere suo valide trahe- ret, paruit solium, et ad justam loci illius mensuram re- ductum fuit. Quod prodi- gium cum cernerent adstan- tes, obstupescabant, et Deum celebrabant. Fabricatum ve- ro erat solium hoc ex ligno illo, quod exstiterat tempore Soleimanis, ligno scilicet va- riis formis et figuris insignito.

XL. Alio quodam die Do- minus Jesus in plateam e- gressus, et pueros, qui ad lu- dendum convenerant, conspi- catus, eorum se turbæ admis- cuit. Qui viso illo cum sese occultarent, ipsique investi- gandos præberent, pervenit Dominus Jesus ad portam domus cujusdam, et stantes ibi mulieres rogavit, Quonam pueri isti abiissent? Cumque

eat. Then the Lord Jesus ask- ed him, *What he was afraid of?* Joseph replied, *Because I have lost my labour in the work which I have been about these two years.* Jesus said to him, *Fear not, neither be cast down; do thou lay hold on one side of the throne, and I will the other, and we will bring it to its just dimensions.* And when Joseph had done as the Lord Jesus said, and each of them had with strength drawn his side, the throne obeyed, and was brought to the pro- per dimensions of the place: which miracle when they who stood by saw, they were as- tonished, and praised God. The throne was made of the same wood, which was in be- ing in Solomon's time, viz. wood adorned with various shapes and figures.

XL. On another day the Lord Jesus going out into the street, and seeing some boys who were met to play, joined himself to their com- pany: but when they saw him, they hid themselves, and left him to seek for them; the Lord Jesus came to the gate of a certain house, and asked some women who were stand- ing there, *Where the boys were*

neminem ibi adesse responderent, iterum Dominus Jesus, Hi, inquit, quos in fornace videtis, quinam sunt? Respondentibus illis, Hædos esse triennes; exclamavit Dominus Jesus, dixitque, Huc exite, O hædi, ad Pastorem vestrum: et confestim egrediebantur pueri hædis similes, et circa ipsum exultabant; quod conspicatæ mulieres istæ obstupuerunt admodum, terrorque ipsas et tremor occupavit. Propere igitur Dominum Jesum adorabant et obsecrabant, dicentes, O Domine noster Jesu, fili Mariæ, tu revera es Pastor ille bonus Israelis! miserere ancillarum tuarum, quæ coram te consistunt, quæ minime dubitant, quin tu, O Domine noster, ad sanandum, non vero ad perdendum veneris. Deinde, cum respondisset Dominus Jesus, Filios Israelis esse inter populos, tanquam Æthiopes; dicebant mulieres, Tu, Domine, omnia nosti, neque te quidquam latet; nunc vero te rogamus, et a pietate tua petimus, ut pueros istos, servos tuos, in pristinum ipsorum statum restituas. Dicebat ergo Dominus Jesus, Adeste, O pueri, ut abeamus et ludamus: et extemplo, ad-

were gone? And when they answered, That there was no one there; the Lord Jesus said, Who are those whom ye see in the furnace? They answered, They were kids of three years old. Then Jesus cried out aloud, and said, Come out hither, O ye kids, to your shepherd; and presently the boys came forth like kids, and leaped about him; which when the women saw, they were exceedingly amazed, and trembled. Then they immediately worshipped the Lord Jesus, and beseeched him, saying, O our Lord Jesus, son of Mary, thou art truly that good shepherd of Israel! have mercy on thy handmaids, who stand before thee, who do not doubt, but that thou, O Lord, art come to save, and not to destroy. After that, when the Lord Jesus said, The children of Israel are like Ethiopians among the people; the women said, Thou, Lord, knowest all things, nor is any thing concealed from thee: but now we intreat thee, and beseech of thy mercy, that thou wouldest restore those boys to their former state. Then Jesus said, Come hither, O boys, that we may go and play; and immediate-

ly,

stantibus hiſce ſœminis, hædi immutati ſunt, et in formam puerorum redierunt.

ly, in the preſence of theſe women, the kids were changed, and returned into the ſhape of boys.

XLI. Menſe autem Adar congregavit Jeſus pueros, e-
oſque tanquam rex diſpoſuit ; ſtraverant enim veſtes ſuas in terra, ut ſuper illas conſideret, et coronam e floribus conſertam capiti ejus impoſuerant, et ſatellitum inſtar, regi adſtantium, a dextris et ſiniſtris coram ipſo conſiſtebant. Si quis autem per viam illam tranſiret, illum vi abſtrahebant pueri, dicentes ; Huc ades, et regem adora, ut felix tibi iter contingat.

XLI. In the month Adar Jeſus gathered together the boys, and ranked them as though he had been a king ; for they ſpread their garments on the ground for him to ſit on ; and having made a crown of flowers, put it upon his head, and ſtood on his right and left as the guards of a king ; and if any one happened to paſs by, they took him by force, and ſaid ; *Come hither, and worſhip the king, that you may have a prosperous journey.*

XLII. Interea dum hæc gerebantur, accedebant viri, qui puerum lætica geſtabant. Hic enim puer ligna petiturus cum æqualibus ſuis in montem diſceſſerat ; ibi vero cum perdicis nidum inveniſſet, et manum ſuam, ut ova exinde tolleret, extendiſſet, ſerpens cum malignus ex medio nidi proprepens pupugit, ita ut ſodalium ſuorum auxilium imploraret : qui, cum propere acceſſiſſent, invenerunt illum in terra jacentem, mortui in-

XLII. In the mean time, while theſe things were doing, there came certain men, carrying a boy upon a couch ; for this boy having gone with his companions to the mountain to gather wood, and having found there a partridge's neſt and put his hand in to take out the eggs, was ſtung by a poiſonous ſerpent, which leaped out of the neſt ; ſo that he was forced to cry out for the help of his companions : who, when they came, found him lying upon the earth like

star; venerantque propinqui ejus, et sublatum in urbem referebant. Postquam vero pervenerant ad locum illum, in quo Dominus Jesus more regis residebat, cæterique pueri ministrorum instar circumstabant, pueri propere obviam procedebant ei, qui a serpente morsus erat, et dicebant propinquis ejus, Accedite, et salutate regem; sed cum propter mœrorem in quo versabantur, accedere nollent, pueri illos, invitos vi abstrahabant. Et cum ad Dominum Jesum pervenissent, rogabat ille, Quare hunc puerum gestarent? Atque illis respondentibus, Quod serpens ipsum momordisset; dicebat Dominus Jesus pueris, Ite nobiscum, ut serpentem istum interficiamus. Rogantibus vero parentibus pueri, ut dimitterentur, quod filius ipsorum in agone mortis versaretur; respondebant pueri, dicentes, Annon audivistis, quid rex dixerit, Eamus et occidamus serpentem? et vos morem ipsi non geritis? et sic ipsis nolentibus, lecticam retro abducebant. Cumque ad nidum illum pervenissent, dicebat Dominus Jesus pueris, Hoccine est latibulum

a dead person. After which, his neighbours came, and carried him back into the city. But when they came to the place where the Lord Jesus was sitting like a king, and the other boys stood around him like his ministers, the boys made haste to meet him, who was bitten by the serpent, and said to his neighbours, *Come and pay your respects to the king*; but when, by reason of their sorrow, they refused to come, the boys drew them and forced them against their wills to come. And when they came to the Lord Jesus, he enquired, *On what account they carried that boy?* and when they answered, *that a serpent had bitten him*, the Lord Jesus said to the boys, *Let us go and kill that serpent.* But when the parents of the boy desired to be excused, because their son lay at the point of death: the boys made answer, and said, *Did not ye hear what the king said? Let us go and kill the serpent; and will not ye obey him?* So they brought the couch back again, whether they would or not. And when they were come to the nest, the Lord Jesus said to the boys, *Is this the serpent's lurking*

serpentis ? Atque illis annu-
entibus, serpens a Domini
Jesu vocatus confestim pro-
dibat, seseque ipsi submittebat.
Cui ille, Abi, inquit, et omne
venenum, quod huic puero
insinuasti, exsuge. Itaque
serpens iste, ad puerum ad-
repens, omne suum venenum
rursus abstulit ; et tunc ma-
ledixit illi Dominus Jesus, ut
exemplo disruptus more-
retur : puerumque manu sua
tetigit, ut valetudini pristinae
restitueretur ; et cum flere
inciperet, Reprime fletum,
inquit Dominus Jesus ; mox
enim meus eris discipulus, et
hic est Simon Cananites, cu-
jus in Evangelio fit mentio.

lurking place ? They said, *It
was.* Then the Lord Jesus
calling the serpent, it present-
ly came forth, and submitted
to him : to whom he said,
*Go and suck out all the poison
which thou hast infused into
that boy :* so the serpent crept
to the boy, and took away all
its poison again. Then the
Lord Jesus cursed the serpent,
so that it immediately burst
asunder, and died ; and he
touched the boy with his hand
to restore him to his former
health ; and when he began
to cry, the Lord Jesus said,
*Cease crying, for hereafter thou
shalt be my disciple ;* and this
is that *Simon the Canaanite*,
who is mentioned in the Gos-
pel.

XLIII. Alio die Josephus
filium suum Jacobum ligna-
tum miserat, et comitem se
illi Dominus Jesus adjunx-
erat ; cumque pervenissent ad
locum, in quo ligna erant,
coepissetque Jacobus illa col-
ligere, ecce vipera maligna
illum momordit, ita ut flere
et vociferari inciperet. Eum
igitur in hoc statu cernens
Dominus Jesus, accessit ad
ipsum, locumque in quo vi-
pera eum momorderat, affla-
vit, ut exemplo sanaretur.

XLIII. On another day,
Joseph sent his son James to
gather wood, and the Lord
Jesus went with him ; and
when they came to the place
where the wood was, and
James began to gather it, be-
hold, a venomous viper bit
him, so that he began to cry,
and make a noise. The Lord
Jesus seeing him in this con-
dition, came to him, and
blowed upon the place where
the viper had bit him, and it
was instantly well.

dente, ut illam destrueret, evanuit aqua ejus, dixitque illi Dominus Jesus: Quemadmodum evanuit aqua ista, sic tua quoque vita evanescet, et extemplo puer iste exaruit.

pool of Jesus to destroy it, the water vanished away, and the Lord Jesus said to him, *In like manner as this water has vanished, so shall thy life vanish*; and presently the boy died.

XLVII. Alio tempore, cum vesperi Dominus Jesus cum Josepho domum reverteretur, obviam habuit puerum, qui cursu rapido concitatus, impellebat ipsum, ut caderet. Cui Dominus Jesus; Quemadmodum me impulisti, ita cades, neque surges; eademque hora corruit puer et exspiravit.

XLVII. Another time, when the Lord Jesus was coming home in the evening with Joseph, he met a boy, who ran so hard against him, that he threw him down; to whom the Lord Jesus said, *As thou hast thrown me down, so shalt thou fall, nor ever rise*. And that moment the boy fell down, and died.

XLVIII. Erat porro Hierosolymis quidam Zacchæus nomine, qui juventutem erudiebat. Dicebat hic Josepho, Quare, O Joseph, non mitis ad me Jesum, ut literas discat? Annuebat illi Josephus, et ad divam Mariam hoc referebat. Ad magistrum itaque illum deducebant; qui simulatque eum conspexerat, alphabetum ipsi conscripsit, utque Aleph diceret præcepit; et cum dixisset Aleph, magister ipsum Beth pronunciare jubebat. Cui Dominus Jesus; Dic mihi prius significationem li-

XLVIII. There was also at Jerusalem one named Zaccheus, who was a school-master; he said to Joseph, *Joseph, why dost thou not send Jesus to me, that he may learn his letters?* Joseph agreed, and told St. Mary: so they brought him to that master; who, as soon as he saw him, wrote out an alphabet for him, and he bad him say *Aleph*; and when he had said *Aleph*, the master bad him pronounce *Beth*. Then the Lord Jesus said to him, *Tell me first the meaning of the letter Aleph, and then I will*

teræ Aleph, et tum Beth pronuntiabo. Cumque magister verbera ipsi intentaret, exposnebat illi Dominus Jesus significationes literarum Aleph et Beth; item quænam literarum figuræ essent rectæ, quænam obliquæ, quænam duplicatæ; quæ punctis insignitæ, quæ iisdem carentes; quare una litera aliam præcederet; aliaque plurima enarrare cœpit, et elucidare, quæ magister ipse nec unquam audiverat, nec in libro ullo legerat. Dixit porro magistro Dominus Jesus, Attende, ut dicam tibi; cœpitque clare et distincte recitare, Aleph, Beth, Gimel, Daleth, usque ad finem alphabeti. Quod miratus magister, Hunc, inquit, puerum ante Noachum natum esse existimo; conversusque ad Josephum, Adduxisti, ait, ad me erudiendum puerum, magistris omnibus doctiorem. Divæ quoque Mariæ inquit, Filio huic tu nulla doctrina opus est.

I will pronounce Beth. And when the master threatened to whip him, the Lord Jesus explained to him the meaning of the letters Aleph and Beth; also which were the straight figures of the letters, which the oblique, and what letters had double figures; which had points, and which had none; why one letter went before another; and many other things he began to tell him, and explain; of which the master himself had never heard, nor read in any book. The Lord Jesus farther said to the master, Take notice how I say to thee; then he began clearly and distinctly to say Aleph, Beth, Gimel, Daleth, and so on to the end of the alphabet. At this the master was so surprised, that he said, I believe this boy was born before Noah; and turning to Joseph, he said, Thou hast brought a boy to me to be taught, who is more learned than any master. He said also to St. Mary, This your son has no need of any learning.

XLIX. Ad alium deinde magistrum doctiorem eum deduxerunt, qui ut eum conspexit, dic Aleph, inquit. Cumque dixisset Aleph, ma-

P. 4

XLIX. They brought him then to a more learned master, who, when he saw him, said, say Aleph; and when he had said Aleph, the master

gister ipsum Beth pronunciare jubebat. Cui respondens Dominus Jesus, Dic mihi, inquit, prius significationem literæ Aleph, et tunc Beth pronunciabo. Hic cum sublata manu eum verberaret magister, confestim manus ipsius exaruit, et mortuus est. Tunc dicebat Josephus divæ Mariæ, Ab hoc tempore non finemus cum domo exire; quoniam quisquis ipsi adversatur, morte plectitur.

L. Et cum factus esset annorum duodecim, duxerunt eum Hierosolymas ad festum; finito autem festo, ipsi quidem revertebantur, sed Dominus Jesus retro manebat in templo inter doctores et seniores, et eruditos ex filiis Israelis; quos de scientiis varia interrogabat, et vicissim eis respondebat. Dicebat enim illis, Messias cujus est filius? Respondebant illi, Filius Davidis. Quare ergo, inquit, in spiritu vocat illum Dominum suum? quando dicit, Dixit Dominus Domino meo, sede ad dextram meam, ut hostes tuos vestigiis pedum tuorum subijciam. Tum interrogabat eum princeps quidam magistrorum, Legistine libros? Et libros, inquit Dominus

master had him pronounced Beth; to which the Lord Jesus replied, *Tell me first the meaning of the letter Aleph, and then I will pronounce Beth.* But this master, when he lift up his hand to whip him, had his hand presently withered, and he died. Then said Joseph to St. Mary, *Henceforth we will not allow him to go out of the house; for every one who displeases him is killed.*

L. And when he was twelve years old, they brought him to Jerusalem to the feast; and when the feast was over, they returned, but the Lord Jesus continued behind in the temple among the doctors and elders, and learned men of Israel; to whom he proposed several questions of learning, and also gave them answers: for he said to them, *Whose son is the Messiah?* They answered, *The son of David.* Why then, said he, does he in the spirit call him Lord? when he saith, The Lord said to my Lord, sit thou at my right hand, till I have made thine enemies thy footstool. Then a certain principal Rabbi asked him, *Hast thou read books?* Jesus answered, *(He*

Jesus, et ea quæ in libris continentur; et explicabat libros, et Legem, et præcepta, et statuta, et mysteria quæ in libris Prophetarum continentur, res, quas nullius creaturæ intellectus percepit. Dicebat ergo magister iste, Ego hæcenus talem scientiam nec vidi, neque audiui! quis putas puer iste erit?

(He had read) both books, and the things which were contained in books. And he explained to them the books of the Law, and precepts, and statutes, and the mysteries which are contained in the books of the Prophets; things which the mind of no creature could reach. Then said that Rabbi, *I never yet have seen or heard of such*

knowledge! what do you think that boy will be?

LI. Cumque adesset ibidem philosophus Astronomiæ peritus, rogaretque Dominum Jesum, num astronomiæ studuisset? Respondebat ipsi Dominus Jesus, exponebatque numerum sphaerarum, et corporum cœlestium; eorumque naturas et operationes, oppositionem, aspectum triquetrum, quadratum et sextilem; progressionem eorundem et retrogradationem; computum denique et prognosticationem; aliaque, quæ nullius unquam hominis ratio peruestigavit.

LI. When a certain Astronomer, who was present, asked the Lord Jesus, *Whether he had studied Astronomy?* The Lord Jesus replied, and told him the number of the spheres and heavenly bodies, as also their triangular, square, and sextile aspect; their progressive and retrograde motion; their size and several prognostications; and other things, which the reason of man had never discovered.

LII. Aderat quoque inter illos philosophus, medicinæ et naturalis scientiæ peritissimus; qui cum rogasset Dominum Jesum, An medicinæ studuisset? Respondens ille reposuit ipsi physica et meta-

LII. There was also among them a philosopher well skilled in physick and natural philosophy, who asked the Lord Jesus, *Whether he had studied physick?* He replied, and explained to him physicks and

physica, hyperphysica et hypophysica; virtutes quoque corporis et humores, eorundemque effectus; numerum item membrorum et ossium, venarum, arteriarum, et nervorum; temperamenta etiam, calidum et siccum, frigidum et humidum, quæque ex hisce orirentur; quænam esset operatio animæ in corpus; ejusque sensationes et virtutes; facultates loquendi, irascendi, appetendi; denique congregationem et dissipationem; aliaque, quæ nullius creaturæ intellectus unquam penetravit. Tunc surgebat philosophus iste, et Dominum Jesum adorabat; et, O Domine Jesu, inquit, ab hoc tempore ero discipulus tuus et servus.

and metaphysicks, also those things which were above and below the power of nature; the powers also of the body, its humours and their effects; also the number of its members, and bones, veins, arteries, and nerves; the several constitutions of body, hot and dry, cold and moist, and the tendencies of them; how the soul operated upon the body; what its various sensations and faculties were; the faculty of speaking, anger, desire; and lastly, the manner of its composition and dissolution; and other things, which the understanding of no creature had ever reached. Then that philosopher arose, and worshipped the Lord Jesus, and said, O Lord Jesus, from henceforth I will be thy disciple and servant.

LIII. Dum hæc et alia inter sese loquebantur, aderat Domina diva Maria, postquam ipsum quærens triduum cum Josepho circumivisset: videns ergo eum inter doctores sedentem, perque vices ipsos rogantem et respondentem, dicebat illi, Mi fili, quare ita fecisti nobis? Ecce ego et pater tuus te magno cum

LIII. While they were discoursing on these and such like things, the Lady St. Mary came in, having been three days walking about with Joseph, seeking for him. And when she saw him sitting among the doctors, and in his turn proposing questions to them, and giving answers, she said to him, *My son, why hast thou done thus by us? Behold, I and thy father have been*

labore quæfivimus. At ille, Quare, inquit, me quærebatis? An nesciebatis, decere me, ut in domo patris mei verfer? Sed ipsi non intelligebant verba quæ cum ipsis loquebatur. Tunc doctores isti rogabant Mariam, Hic cine ipsius esset filius? et annuente ipsa, O te felicem, aiebant, Maria, quæ hunc talem peperisti. Revertebatur autem cum eis Nazaretham, et omnibus rebus morem ipsis gerebat. Et mater ejus conservabat omnia verba ista in corde suo. Dominus vero Jesus proficiebat statura, et sapientia, et gratia apud Deum et homines.

LIV. Atque ab hoc die miracula, arcana, et secreta sua occultare cœpit, et Legi operam dare; donec annum trigefimum compleret; quando Pater publice illum ad Jordanem declaravit, hac cælitus voce demissa, Hic est filius meus dilectus, in quo acquiesco; præfente Spiritu Sancto in forma columbæ candidæ.

LV. Hic est quem supplices adoramus, quoniam essentiam nobis et vitam dedit, et

been at much pains in seeking thee. He replied, *Why did ye seek me? Did ye not know that I ought to be employed in my father's house?* But they understood not the words which he said to them. Then the doctors asked Mary, *Whether this were her son?* And when she said, *He was,* they said, *O happy Mary, who hast born such a son.* Then he returned with them to Nazareth, and obeyed them in all things: and his mother kept all these sayings in her mind; and the Lord Jesus grew in stature, and wisdom, and favour with God and Man.

LIV. But from this time he began to conceal his miracles and secret works, and gave himself to the study of the Law, till he arrived to the end of his thirtieth year; at which time the father publicly owned him at Jordan, sending down this voice from heaven, *This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased;* the Holy Ghost being also present in the form of a dove.

LV. This is he whom we worship with all reverence, because he gave us our life and

ex uteris matrum nostrarum nos eduxit; qui corpus humanum propter nos assumpsit, nosque redemit, ut complecteretur nos æterna misericordia, et gratiam suam ex liberalitate et beneficentia, ex generositate et benevolentia nobis exhiberet. Ipsi sit gloria, et laus, et potentia, et imperium, ab hoc tempore in sempiterna sæcula. Amen.

and being, and brought us from our mother's womb; who, for our sakes, took a human body, and hath redeemed us, that so he might embrace us with everlasting mercy, and shew his free, large, bountiful grace and goodness to us. To him be glory and praise, and power, and dominion, from henceforth and for evermore. Amen.

Explicit Evangelium Infantiæ totum, auxilio Dei supremi, secundum ea quæ in archetypo invenimus.

The end of the whole Gospel of the Infancy, by the assistance of the supreme God, according to what we found in the original.

CH A P. XXIII.

A Gospel of our Saviour's Infancy under the Name of Thomas.

THIS Gospel, or fragment of a Gospel, is of the same tenour and design with the former, and is published here for the same reasons. I transcribed it out of the learned Cotelerius's Notes on the *Constitutions of the Apostles*, l. vi. c. 17. p. 348. who printed it out of a manuscript in the French King's Library, Numb. 2279.

Numb. VIII.

Λόγος εἰς τὰ παιδικὰ καὶ
μεγαλεῖα τῷ Κυρίῳ καὶ
Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

*An Account of the Actions and
Miracles of our Lord and
Saviour Jesus Christ, in his
Infancy.*

CAP. I.

ΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΟΝ ἡγησάμην
ἐγὼ Θωμᾶς ὁ Ἰσραηλί-
της, πᾶσι τοῖς ἐξ Ἑθνῶν ἀ-
δελφοῖς γνωρίσαι τὰ παιδικὰ
καὶ μεγαλεῖα τῷ Χριστῷ, ὅσα
ἐποίησεν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν καὶ
Θεὸς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς γεννηθεὶς
ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἡμῶν, ἐν τῇ Βηθ-
λεὲμ, ἐξιζάμενος· ὧν ἡ ἀρχὴ
ἐστὶν αὕτη.

CHAP. I.

I Thomas an Israelite, judg-
ed it necessary to make
known to our brethren among
the Gentiles, the actions and
miracles of Christ in his
childhood, which our Lord
and God Jesus Christ wrought
after his birth in Bethlehem
in our country, at which I
myself was astonished; the
beginning of which, was as
followeth.

CAP. II.

Τὸ γὰρ παιδίον Ἰησοῦς
πενταετῆς γενόμενος· βροχῆς
δὲ γενομένης, καὶ παυσάσης
τῆς βροχῆς, ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐπαιζεν
ἐπὶ διοδεύσει τινὸς ρύακος, καὶ
τὰ παραρρέοντα ὕδατα συνη-
γάγετο εἰς λάκκους, μεθ' ἐτέ-
ρων παιδῶν τῶν Ἑβραίων·
καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ὕδατα παρα-
χρῆμα ἐγένοντο καθαρὰ καὶ
ἐνάρετα· λόγῳ δὲ μόνῳ ἐπά-
ταξεν αὐτὰ, καὶ πάντως ὑπέ-
τάσσοντο αὐτῷ· ἐπάραντος

CHAP. II.

When the child Jesus was
five years of age, and there
had been a shower of rain,
which was now over, Jesus
was playing with other He-
brew boys by a running stream;
and the water running over
the banks, stood in little
lakes; but the waters instant-
ly became clear and useful a-
gain; he having smote them
only by his word, they readily
obeyed him. Then he took
from the bank of the stream

some

δὲ ἐκ τῆς χείλεως αὐτῶν πηλὸν τρυφερὸν, ἔπλασεν ἐξ αὐτῆς σαρδία τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἑβ'. ἦσαν ἔν καὶ τὰ παιδία παίζοντα σὺν αὐτῷ. Ἰδὼν δὲ τις Ἰδαῖος ἃ ἐποίησεν Ἰησοῦς ἐν σαββάτῳ πλατύνων τὸν πηλόν, ἀπῆλθεν εὐθὺς, καὶ ἀπήγγειλε τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῆ Ἰωσήφ, λέγων· Ἰδὲ τὸ παιδίον σε παίζον ἐπὶ τὰς ῥύακας, καὶ ἤρε πηλόν, καὶ ἔπλασεν ἐξ αὐτῆς σαρδία ἑβ', καὶ βεβηλεῖ τὸ σάββατον. Καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ Ἰωσήφ ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον καὶ ἰδὼν, ἀνέκραξεν αὐτόν, λέγων· Διατί ταῦτα ποιεῖς ἐν σαββάτῳ, ὃ ἐν ἔξει ποιεῖν; Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς συγκροτήσας τὰς παλάμας αὐτῆς, ἀνέκραξε τοῖς σαρδίαις, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· ὑπάγετε, πετάσθητε, καὶ μέμνησθέ με ζῶντες· καὶ πετασθέντων τῶν σαρδίων ἐξῆλθον κράζοντα. Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἰδαῖοι, ἐθαμβήθησαν, καὶ ἀπελθόντες διηγήσαντο τοῖς πρώτοις αὐτῶν ὅπερ ἰδὼν σημεῖον, ὃ πεποίηκεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς.

some soft clay, and formed out of it twelve sparrows; and there were other boys playing with him. But a certain Jew seeing the things which he was doing (viz. his forming clay into the figures of sparrows) on the sabbath day, went presently away, and told his father Joseph, and said, *Behold, thy boy is playing by the river side, and has taken clay, and formed it into twelve sparrows, and profaneth the sabbath.* Then Joseph came to the place where he was, and when he saw him, called to him, and said, *Why dost thou that which it is not lawful to do on the sabbath day?* Then Jesus clapping together the palms of his hands, called to the sparrows, and said to them, *Go, fly away; and while ye live remember me.* So the sparrows fled away, making a noise. The Jews seeing this, were astonished, and went away, and told their chief persons what a strange miracle they had seen wrought by Jesus.

CAP. III.

Ὁ δὲ υἱὸς Ἄννα τῆ γραμματέως ἦν ἐσὼς ἐκεῖ μετὰ Ἰωσήφ, καὶ λαβὼν κλάδον

CHAP. III.

Besides this, the son of Anna the scribe was standing there with Joseph, and took a bough

ἰτίας, ἐξέχεε τὰ ὕδατα, ἃ
 συνήγαγεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς. Ἰδὼν δὲ
 τὸ παιδίον Ἰησοῦς τὸ γενόμενον
 ὑπ' αὐτῷ, ἠγανάκτησε, καὶ εἶ-
 πεν αὐτῷ· ἀνόητε, τί ἡδίκη-
 σάν σε οἱ λάκκοι, καὶ ἐξέχεας
 τὰ ὕδατα; ἰδὲ νῦν καὶ σὺ ὡς
 δένδρον ἀποξηρανθεῖς, καὶ ἔ-
 μη ἐνέγκης φύλλα, ἔτε κλά-
 δης, ἔτε καρπὸν· καὶ εὐθέως
 ἐξηρανθῇ ὅλος. Ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς
 ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς
 τὸν οἶκον αὐτῷ. Οἱ δὲ γονεῖς
 τῷ ξηρανθέντος ἐβόασασαν φέ-
 ροντες αὐτὸν θρηνηντες τὴν
 νεότητα αὐτῷ. Καὶ ἤγοντο
 πρὸς τὸν Ἰωσήφ, καὶ ἐνεγ-
 κάλυν αὐτόν, ὅτι τοιῷτον ἔχεις
 παιδίον ἐργαζόμενον τοιαῦτα;
 Εἶτα ὁ Ἰησοῦς παρακληθεὶς
 παρὰ πάντων, ἰάτρευσε αὐτόν,
 ἵασαντός τι μέλη εἶναι ἄρ-
 γὸν ὀλίγον, εἰς τὸ προσέχειν
 αὐτῷ.

CAP. IV.

Πάλιν ἔν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐπορεύετο
 διὰ τῆς κώμης, καὶ παιδίον
 τρέχον διεπράγγη εἰς τὸν ὄμων
 αὐτῷ· καὶ πικρανθεὶς ὁ Ἰη-
 σοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἔκ ἀπελεύση
 τὴν ὁδὸν σε. Καὶ παραχρῆ-
 μα πεσὼν ἀπέθανεν. Ἰδόντες
 δὲ τινες τὸ γενόμενον εἶπον·

bough of a willow tree, and
 scattered the waters which Je-
 sus had gathered (into lakes.)
 But the boy Jesus seeing what
 he had done, became angry,
 and said to him, *Thou fool,*
what harm did the lakes do
thee, that thou shouldest scatter
the water? Behold, now thou
shalt wither as a tree, and
shalt not bring forth either
leaves, or branches, or fruit.
 And immediately he became
 withered all over. Then Je-
 sus went away home, But
 the parents of the boy who
 was withered, lamenting the
 misfortune of his youth, took
 and carried him to Joseph, ac-
 cusing him, and said, *Why dost*
thou keep a son who is guilty of
such actions? Then Jesus at
 the request of all (who were
 present) did heal him, leaving
 only some small member to
 continue withered, that they
 might take warning.

CHAP. IV.

Another time Jesus went
 forth into the street, and a
 boy running by, rushed upon
 his shoulder; at which Jesus
 being angry, said to him,
Thou shalt go no farther; and
 he instantly fell down dead:
 which when some persons
 saw, they said, *Where was*
this

πῶθεν τῆτο τὸ παιδίον ἐγεν-
νήθη, ὅτι πᾶν ῥῆμα αὐτῆ ἔρ-
γον ἐστὶν ἔτοιμον; Καὶ προσ-
ελθόντες οἱ γονεῖς τῆ τεθνεῶ-
τος τῷ Ἰωσήφ, κατεμέμφοντο
λέγοντες· σὺ τῆτο τὸ παιδίον
ἔχων, ἢ δύνασαι μεθ' ἡμῶν
οἰκεῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν· ἢ
δίδασκει τὸ παιδίον σε αὐτὸς
εὐλογεῖν, καὶ μὴ καταρᾶσθαι,
ἢ ἔξελθε σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν ὧδε·
τὰ γὰρ παῖδιά ἡμῶν θανατοῖ.

CAP. V.

Προσκαλεσάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἰω-
σήφ τὸ παιδίον κατ' ἰδίαν,
ἐνεδέχεται αὐτὸ λέγων· ἵνα τί
ταῦτα κατεργάζῃ, καὶ πό-
σῃσιν ἔτις, καὶ μισῶσιν ἡ-
μᾶς, καὶ διώκῃσιν; Εἶπε δὲ ὁ
Ἰησοῦς· ἐγὼ οἶδα ὅτι τὰ ῥή-
ματά σε ταῦτα, ἃ ἐστὶν σὰ,
ἀλλὰ διὰ σε σιγήσω· ἐκεῖνοι
δὲ οἱ εἰρηκότες σοι ταῦτα οἶ-
σσαι τὴν κόλασιν τὴν αἰώνιον.
Καὶ εὐθὺς οἱ ἐγκαλῶντες αὐ-
τὸν ἐτυφλώθησαν. Καὶ οἱ
ιδόντες ἐφοβήθησαν πάντες
σφόδρα, καὶ ἠπόρουν, καὶ ἔλε-
γον περὶ αὐτῆ, ὅτι πᾶν ῥῆμα
ὃ λέγει, εἴτε καλὸν, εἴτε κα-
κόν, ἔργον γίνεται· καὶ ἐθαύ-
μαζον. Εἰδόντες δὲ ὅτι τῆτο
ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ἐγερθεῖς ὁ

this boy born, that every thing
which he says presently cometh
to pass? Then the parents of
the dead boy going to Joseph,
complained, saying, *You are
not fit to live with us, in our
city, having such a boy as that:
either teach him that he bless,
and not curse, or else depart
hence with him, for he kills
our children.*

CHAP. V.

Then Joseph calling the
boy [Jesus] by himself, in-
structed him, saying, *Why
doest thou such things to injure
the people so, that they bate us
and persecute us? But Jesus
replied, I know that what
thou sayest is not of thyself, but
for thy sake I will say nothing;
but they who have said these
things to thee, shall suffer ever-
lasting punishment.* And im-
mediately they who had ac-
cused him, became blind, and
all they who saw it were ex-
ceedingly afraid and con-
founded, and said concerning
him, *Whatsoever he saith,
whether good or bad, imme-
diately cometh to pass:* and
they were amazed. And when
they saw this action of Christ,

Joseph

Ἰωσήφ ἐπελάβετο αὐτὴν τὸ ὤ-
τιον, καὶ ἔτιλεν αὐτό· τὸ δὲ
παιδίον ἠγανάκτησε, καὶ εἶ-
πεν αὐτῷ· ἀρκετόν σοι ἐστὶ,
ζηεῖν καὶ μὴ εὐρίσκειν αὐτὰς,
καὶ μάλισα εὐσφῶς ἔπραξας.
Οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι σός εἰμι; μὴ
με λύπει.

Joseph arose, and plucked
him by the ear, at which the
boy was angry, and said to
him, *Be easy; for if they seek
for us, they shall not find us:
thou hast done very imprudent-
ly. Dost thou not know that
I am thine? Trouble me no
more.*

CAP. VI.

Καθηγητὴς δὲ τις ὀνόματι
Ζακχαῖος ἐξὼς ἐν μέρει τινὶ
ἦλθε τῇ Ἰησοῦ ταῦτα λαλῶν-
τος τῷ πατρὶ·^a αὐτῇ, καὶ ἰ-
θαύμασε σφόδρα, ὅτι παιδίον
ὦν τοιαῦτα φθέγγεται. Καὶ
μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας, προσήγ-
γισε τῷ Ἰωσήφ, καὶ εἶπεν αὐ-
τῷ, ὅτι παιδίον φρόνιμον ἔχεις,
καὶ νῦν ἔχει· δεῦρο ἔν παρά-
δος μοι αὐτὸν, ὅπως μάθῃ
γράμματα. Καθίσαντος δὲ
αὐτῇ τῇ διδάξαι γράμματα
τῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἤρξατο τὸ πρῶτον
σοιχεῖον τὸ Ἀλεφ· ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς
λέγει τὸ δεύτερον σοιχεῖον
Μπεθ, Γκίμελ· καὶ εἶπεν αὐ-
τῷ πάντα τὰ σοιχεῖα ἕως
τέλους· καὶ ἀναπτύξας βιβ-
λίον, τὰς προφῆτας ἐδίδασκε
τὸν καθηγητήν. Αὐτὸς δὲ

CHAP. VI.

A certain schoolmaster,
named Zacchæus, standing in
a certain place, heard Jesus
speaking these things to his
father; and he was much
surprised, that being a child
he should speak such things;
and after a few days he came
to Joseph, and said, *Thou hast
a wise and sensible child, send
him to me, that he may learn
to read.* When he sat down
to teach the letters to Jesus,
he began with the first letter
Aleph; but Jesus pronounced
the second letter *Mpeth*
(*Beth*), *Cghimel* (*Gimel*), and
said over all the letters to
him to the end. Then open-
ing a book, he taught his
master the prophets: but he

^a So I choose to read it, instead
of τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῇ, as it is in Co-

telerius, which makes the sense very
imperfect.

αἰσχυνθεὶς ἠπόρησεν, ὅτι ἐκ οἷδε, πῶθεν αὐτὸς οἶδε τὰ γράμματα· καὶ ἐγερθεὶς ἀνέχωρησεν οἴκαδε, θαυμάζων ἐξιστάμενος τὸ παραδόξον.

was ashamed, and was at a loss to conceive how he came to know the letters. And he arose and went home, wonderfully surpris'd at so strange a thing.

CAP. VII.

Πορευομένη δὲ τῇ Ἰησοῦ, εἶδε τι ἐρδασήριον, καὶ τινα νεανίσκον^a βάπτοντα εἰς λέβητας ἱμάτια, καὶ τζόχας τινὰς διαφόρους φαιᾶς, τὸ καθέκαστον ἐκτελών, κατὰ τὴν τῇ ἐνὸς ἐκάστῃ βέλησιν. Εἰσελθὼν ἔν τὸ παιδίον Ἰησοῦς ἔτῳς ποιεῖντα τὸν νεανίαν, λαβὼν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν προσκειμένων ὑφασμάτων ****

CHAP. VII.

As Jesus was passing by a certain shop, he saw a young man dipping (or dying) some cloths and stockings in a furnace, of a sad colour, doing them according to every person's particular order; the boy Jesus going to the young man who was doing this, took also some of the cloths ****

C H A P. XXIV.

The two preceding Gospels seem to have been originally the same. The antient Gospel of Thomas different from those of the Infancy of Christ. The Gospels of Christ's Infancy received by the Gnosticks in the second century: known to Mahomet and the Compilers of the Alcoran. Mahometan Traditions concerning Christ's Infancy.

I. **T**HE two preceding Gospels (viz. that published by Cotelierius, and that published by Mr. Sike) seem to have been originally the same, or to have been formed out of the same original. It is evident they are now very different, each con-

^a So undoubtedly we should read, instead of *εἰς τὴν*, as it is in Cotelierius.

taining

taining many relations which are not in the other ; but it is nevertheless very probable they both are the product of some one antient Gospel, which went through very many alterations, interpolations, &c. To support this, I observe,

That there are several relations in both, which cannot with any reason be doubted to have been the same. For instance, the story of Christ's *forming the twelve sparrows on the Sabbath-day out of mud, a certain Jew's being offended, Christ's clapping his hands, and the sparrows flying away*, in Cotelierius's Gospel, Ch. II. is related with very little alteration in Mr. Sike's, Ch. XLVI. compared with XXXVI. So is that story, Cotel. Ch. IV. with Sike's XLVII. *The story of Christ's learning his alphabet of a schoolmaster named Zacchæus*, in Cotelierius's Gospel, Ch. VI. is related with little difference in Mr. Sike's, XLVIII, XLIX. So also the *account of Christ's going into the dyer's shop*, of which we have a part in Cotelierius's Gospel, Ch. VII. is related at large in Mr. Sike's, Ch. XXXVII. From hence it is evident, near half that Gospel which Cotelierius published, is contained in Mr. Sike's ; which, if it be impartially considered, as also that the former of these is only a fragment or imperfect part of a more large Gospel, and therefore might contain, as very probably it did, many other things which are in Mr. Sike's ; it seems to have as much probability as the nature of the thing will allow, that they both were either *originally one and the same, or proceeded from one and the same original.*

II. The Gospel under the name of *Thomas the Apostle*, so frequently mentioned by the antients, *was a book different from that*, intitled, *Concerning the Infancy of our Saviour*. This observation is necessary to be made here, not only because in that Gospel which is published by Cotelierius, the author pretends to have been Thomas the Apostle, but because without it there is much danger of confusion in treating on this subject. Mr. Fabritius, in his large collections relating to this Gospel, has with much labour amassed together the testimonies of the antients and moderns concerning the *Gospel of Thomas*; and prefixed them to these two Gospels of the *Infancy*

of our Saviour; but in such a manner, as must needs involve the reader in the utmost perplexity: to avoid this, I have made the present observation, viz. that the antient Gospel of Thomas was *very different* from the Gospel of the Infancy of our Saviour. This appears, because

1. *The antient Christian writers have mentioned these as two different and distinct books.* In Pope Gelasius's Decree we read, *Evangelium nomine Thomæ Apocryphum, The Gospel under the name of Thomas is Apocryphal*; and a little after, *Liber de Infantia Salvatoris Apocryphus, The book of the Infancy of our Saviour is Apocryphal.* In a small tract of Timothy, a Presbyter of Constantinople^a, we find, among the other books forged by the Manichees, recited as a distinct one, τὸ κατὰ Θωμᾶν Εὐαγγέλιον, *The Gospel according to Thomas*; and a little after, τὰ παιδικὰ λεγόμενα τῷ Κυρίῳ ἃ συνέταξαν οἱ αὐτοὶ, διόλκτες ἔκπλησιν ἀποφῆναι τὴν σάρκωσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἵνα ἐν ἀληθείᾳ; *The accounts of our Lord's infancy, which the Manichees forged, with design to represent Christ not as having been really incarnate, but only in appearance* &c. This Timothy is supposed by Dr. Cave^b to have lived about the year of Christ DCX.

2. *The Gospel of Thomas, mentioned by Cyril of Jerusalem, and several of the antients after him, was composed by Thomas, one of the three disciples of Manes, the father of the Manichees*^c (i. e. in the latter end of the third century, about the time of Aurelius Probus, or Dioclesian); *but the books of our Saviour's Infancy were extant in the time of Irenæus, and the forgery of the Gnosticks in the beginning of the second century.* This is clear from the noted chapter in Irenæus, adv. Hæres. (viz. c. xvii. l. 1.) which, as far as it relates to my purpose, I shall presently produce at length.

I must indeed confess, that there was a Gospel under the name of Thomas, extant before this composed by the disciple of Manes, as appears by that place of Origen, which I have had occasion so often to cite in the second part of the former

^a Rabrit. Cod. Apocr. t. 1. p. 139.

^b Hist. Liter. Vol. I. p. 447.

^c See the former Volume, Part

II. Ch. XL. No. LXV. and particularly the testimony of Cyril there.

volume (viz. Homil. in Luc. i.). But there is not the least ground to conclude, either from Origen or any one of the Christian writers, that the Gospel under the name of that Apostle had any reference, or treated at all about the affairs and actions of our Saviour's infancy.

From all this I infer, that I have not here any occasion to concern myself with the Gospel of Thomas ; but concluding it to be a lost book, must judge it sufficient to refer the reader to its proper place among such books (viz. Vol. I. Part II. Ch. XL. Num. LXV.). My business now is with the treatises of our Saviour's Infancy ; and relating to those, I observe, farther,

III. *Some of those called Christians in the beginning of the second century, published and received some book, or books, in which were contained the memorable actions of our Saviour in his infancy, or the history of Christ before he entered upon his publick ministry.* The Christians I mean were the Marcionians, a branch of the noted sect called Gnosticks ; and as to the fact, we are assured by Irenæus *, who saith,

Πρὸς δὲ τῆτοις ἀμύθηται πολλὰ
ἀποκρύφων καὶ ὁρίων
γραφῶν, ἃς αὐτοὶ ἐπλασαν,
παρεισφύρουν εἰς κατάπληξιν
τῶν ἀνοήτων, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀλη-
θείας μὴ ἐπισαμένων γράμμα-
τα. Προσπαράλαμβάνουσι δὲ εἰς
τὸ κακὸν τὸ ῥαδιόργημα,
ὡς τῷ Κυρίῳ (παιδὸς ὄντος
καὶ γράμματα μαρτάνον-
τος^b) καὶ τῷ διδασκάλῳ φή-
σαντος, καὶ ὡς ἔστιν,

Besides, they produce an infinite multitude of Apocryphal and spurious Scriptures which they have forged, with which they make the unthinking, and those who know not the true Scriptures, astonished. They have also added this false story, *That our Lord (when he was a child, and learning his alphabet) of his schoolmaster, when he said to him as is usual,*

* Adv. Hæres. lib. 1. c. 17.

^b The Greek in that parenthesis I took out of the margin, it not being in the Greek of Irenæus,

which is preserved in Epiphanius, Hæres. 34. §. 18. but supplied by the editor out of the Old Latin Translation.

εἰπέ Ἀλφα, ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸ
Ἀλφα· πάλιν τε τὸ Βῆτα τῷ
διδασκάλῳ κελεύσαντ' εἰ-
πεῖν, ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸν Κύ-
ριον· Σύ μοι πρότερον εἰπέ
τί ἐστι τὸ Ἀλφα, καὶ τότε σοὶ
ἐγὼ τί ἐστι τὸ Βῆτα. Καὶ
τῷτο ἐξηγῶνται, ὡς αὐτῷ μόνῳ
τὸ ἄγνωστον ἐπισταμένῳ, ὃ ἔφα-
νέρωσεν ἐν τῷ Ἀλφα.

say A, answered A; again,
when the master bid him say
B, the Lord said to him, Do
you first tell me what A is, and
then I will tell you what B is.
And this they so expound, as
if he alone understood the
mystery which he revealed in
the letter A.

I know not that any of the antient Christians besides the Gnosticks did receive these books as genuine, or indeed that any one besides Irenæus has made mention of them within the first four centuries after Christ.

IV. *The Gospel of the Infancy of our Saviour was known to Mahomet, or those who assisted him in compiling the Alcoran. I add those who assisted him; because it is certain that Mahomet himself could neither write nor read, as he confesses twice in the same chapter of the Alcoran (viz. Ch. VII. intitled, Of Prisons, p. 165.); and I have in the former Volume (Append. p. 462, &c.) shewn who his assistants were. These, I say, knew the Gospel of the Infancy of our Saviour. I have already proved in the Appendix now cited, that many, or most of those things which are in the Alcoran, relating to Christ and Christianity (which I have also there produced) were taken out of some Apocryphal or spurious writings, and particularly instanced in some taken out of the Gospel of the Infancy. Since the writing of that volume, I find the learned Hinkelmannus has asserted in his Preface to his Arabick edition of the Alcoran, that Mahomet and his assistants made use of this Gospel in many places of the Alcoran. In hunc infelici suo et aliorum fato cum adjutoribus suis incidit Impostor Mahomedes, et passim, præcipue capite tertio, multa ex eodem in Coranum suum transcripsit magno suo opprobrio, et novæ religionis detrimenta; i. e. The impostor Mahomet, by his unlucky fate, and his disci-*
ples,

ple, met with this book (of the Infancy of Christ), and has in many places, especially in the third chapter, transcribed many things out of it into his *Alcoran*, to his own shame and the injury of his new religion. If my searches into the *Alcoran* do not deceive me, this learned editor is mistaken, and, instead of many places, there are but two only to be found there, in which the compilers have transcribed out of this Gospel. I question not but he confounded the *Gospel of the Birth of Mary*, or, which is the same thing, the *Protevangelion of James*, with the *Gospel of the Infancy*: for whereas he cites the third chapter of the *Alcoran*, and saith much of it was transcribed out of the *Gospel of the Infancy*, he is mistaken, the contents of that chapter being manifestly taken more out of the *Gospel of the Birth of Mary*, Ch. II. or the *Protevangelion of James*, Ch. IV. Notwithstanding this, as I have above observed^a, there are two things in the *Alcoran* manifestly taken out of the *Gospel of the Infancy*, as that Ch. III. and Ch. V. intitled, *Of the Table* (in my collection out of the *Alcoran*, Num. II. and Num. VII. Vol. I. p. 451, and 455.) *Concerning Christ's speaking in his cradle*, which is in so many words in the *Gospel of the Infancy*, published by Mr. Sike, Ch. I. and the *story of Christ's making a bird out of mud or slime*, in the last-cited places of the *Alcoran*, which is in both the Gospels above produced, viz. that of Cotelierius, Ch. II. and that of Mr. Sike, Ch. XXXVI. and XLVI.

It will not be improper to add here, that though the generality of the Mahometans know little or nothing concerning Christ besides what is contained in the *Alcoran*, yet there have been among some of them *some traditions relating to Christ's infancy which are not there*; some of which, as they are collected by Mr. Fabritius in several places, I shall here lay together, particularly,

1. That which Mr. Sike^c relates out of La Brosse's *Perfic Lexicon*; *It is affirmed*, says he, *in an Apocryphal book of the Persians, that our Saviour practised the dyer's trade, and*

^a See Vol. I. p. 464. It is also observed by Cotelierius, Annot. in

Constit. Apostolic. l. 6. c. 17.

^b In Notis ad Evang. Infant. p. 55.

that at once dying in the same liquor, he made several pieces of cloth of the different colours which he had a mind; on which account the dyers in Persia honour him as their patron, and call a dye-house the Shop of Christ. Let the reader remember here, that we have a story of our Saviour's dying cloth in both the preceding Gospels of his Infancy, viz. in that of Cotelierius, Chap. VII. and that of Mr. Sike, Chap. XXXVII. and that in this place Christ is said to have dyed several cloths of different colours in the same furnace and liquor.

2. Sir John Chardin, in his Travels to Persia*, tells us, that the legends of the Persians contain not only that which is found concerning Christ in the Gospels, but also the fables which are in the legends of the Oriental Christians, and particularly in an Armenian legend, intitled, The Gospel of the Infancy, which is nothing but a heap of fabulous miracles; among others, that Jesus Christ seeing Joseph under very great concern that he had sawed a board of cedar too short, said to him, *Why art thou so much concerned? Give me the board to hold at one end, and do thou pull the other; and so he made it longer.*—That having been sent to school to learn his A, B, C; when the master would have made him say A, he stopped him, and said to the master, Tell me first why the first letter of the alphabet is made thus: upon which the master calling him a little prattler, he answered, I will not say A, till you have told me why the first letter is thus made. The master being then angry, Jesus said to him, I will tell you it myself: the first letter of the alphabet is formed of three perpendicular lines upon one line going across them (the Armenian A is made so, almost like an m turned upside down, viz. thus, III) to shew us, that the beginning of all things is one Being in three Persons.

Here I would also observe to the reader, that, if I mistake not, the foundation of both these stories is in the preceding Gospels. The first, concerning the piece of wood, which Joseph had sawed too short, being made longer by Joseph's pulling at one end, and Christ's pulling at the other, seems to me manifestly taken from the Gospel published by Mr. Sike, Ch. XXXVIII,

* Apud Fabric. Cod. Apocr. N. T. tom. 3. p. 418, 419.


XXXIX, where we read, that when *Joseph went abroad to work as a carpenter, and wanted any piece of wood to be made longer or shorter, Jesus, whom he took along with him, would stretch out his hand, and it became according to his wish; and particularly, when he had made the King's throne too short, and was in great distress, Jesus bad him take one side, and himself took the other, and by pulling it thus, they brought it to its proper length.*

The other story, viz. that concerning *Christ's learning his alphabet, and refusing to say on till his master had told him the meaning of the letter*, is plainly founded upon, and almost the same with that in both the preceding Gospels, viz. in that of Mr. Sike, Ch. XLVIII, XLIX. and that of Cotelierius, Ch. VI.

3. Like to the last is that other Mahometan tradition concerning *Christ in his infancy*, which Mr. Hilscher has related^a, viz. that when Christ's schoolmaster had, according to the ordinary custom said before him, *In the name of the most Merciful*, Jesus asked him, *What was the meaning of the three letters B, S, M, in the word Besmi*^b? And when the master did not know, he told him, *B signified Bahab Allah* (viz. the Majesty of God), *S signified Sannah Allah* (viz. the Highness of God), *M signified Molcabo* (viz. the Kingdom of God). This Mr. Hilscher cites from Meracci, a famous commentator on the Alcoran; and there is no question but it is of the same original with the preceding.

From all this it is evident *the Mahometans were acquainted with the Gospel of Christ's Infancy*; and very probably the more so, because Mahomet had referred to it, or cited out of it in his Alcoran. The notion commonly prevailing among them is, that *the true Gospel is not among the Christians now*,

^a Schediasm. de Studiis Christi
ἐπεὶ γραφῆς, inter Miscellan. Lips.
T. V. p. 23, &c. apud Fabrit.
Cod. Apoc. N. T. tom. 3. p. 424,
and p. 427.

^b The Arabick word 
Besmi, signifies *In the Name*; and
the first words of the chapters in the
Alcoran begin, *In the name of God
most gracious and merciful.*

but

but was taken up by Christ to heaven with him^a; and duquel il n'est resté que ce qui en est cité dans l'Alcoran, viz. of which (says Mr. Herbelot) they suppose nothing left but what is cited in the Alcoran^b: and accordingly in an Arabick Treatise, intitled *Kaschf al Dhonoun*, Mr. Herbelot tells us^c, that the

“ Mussulmans disent que l'Evangile qui commence par Bismilah, &c. c'est-à-dire, *Au nom du Pere, et du Fils, et du Saint Esprit*, n'est pas celui que Dieu a envoyé à Jesus Christ; car celui-ci, disent-ils, commence par *Bismilah*, &c. *Au nom de Dieu clément et miséricordieux*, et ne contient que des Enseignemens; au lieu que le premier n'est qu'une Histoire de sa Vie, écrite par quatre de ses Disciples: i. e.

“ *That the Mussulmans say, that the Gospel which begins with the word Bismilah, &c. viz. In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, is not that Gospel which God sent by Jesus Christ; for that, say they, begins Bismilah, &c. viz. In the name of God most gracious and merciful, and contains nothing but the Doctrines of Christ; instead of which, the former is nothing but a History of his Life, written by four of his Disciples.*” Mr. Fabritius, in a note on this place of Mr. Herbelot, says, ^d *Intelligitur Evangelium Infantia, quod ex Arabico vertit Henricus Sike, viz. That the Arabick author meant the Gospel of the Infancy, translated by Mr. Sike*, when he speaks of a Gospel which begins thus, *In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost*. But in this he is most manifestly mistaken; because, according to the author, this Gospel contained an account of the Life of Christ, written by four of his Disciples, which is not in the *Gospel of the Infancy*, although it begins with those words; which it was very usual for authors or transcribers to prefix or subjoin to their books.

^a See the passage out of Chardin's Travels, above, Vol. I. Append. vers. fin.

^b *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 315.

^c Loc. denuo cit.

^d *Cod. Apoc. N. T. tom. 3. p. 372.*

C H A P. XXV.

The Gospels of Christ's Infancy are spurious and Apocryphal: not received by the antient Christians: the Design of them false. Christ wrought no Miracles in his Infancy: this proved from the Silence of the Scriptures and Fathers: from the express Declaration of Scripture, viz. John ii. 11. That text critically discussed. Intimations in Scripture, that our Saviour wrought no Miracles in his Infancy: positive Assertions of the Fathers (viz. Epiphanius, Nonnus, Chrysostom, and Theophylact) to the same Purpose.

V. **T**HE Gospels of our Saviour's Infancy are Apocryphal: For,

ARG. I. *They were not acknowledged as authentick by any of the antient Christians, who are to be our judges in these matters.* Prop. III.

They are not mentioned in any of the antient catalogues of sacred books, and therefore are to be esteemed Apocryphal by Prop. IV. Not cited in any of the antient Christian writings, and so Apocryphal by Prop. V. Not read in their Churches, and so Apocryphal by Prop. VI.

ARG. II. *These Gospels are Apocryphal, because the whole contexture of them is false, or contrary to certainly known truth.* Prop. VIII.

The contexture and design of these Gospels is to relate a large series of miracles and wonderful actions, wrought by our Saviour during his infancy, or before he entered upon his publick ministry; but it is certain by the most incontestable evidence, that *our Saviour wrought no such miraculous actions, nor indeed any one miracle during the whole of his infant state, or before he was about thirty years old.* For the proof of this I shall urge,

I. The universal and perfect silence of the Scriptures of the
New

New Testament, as to any such actions wrought by Christ in his infancy.

2. The universal and perfect silence of all the first Christian writers.
3. The positive declaration and intimation of Scripture to the contrary.
4. The positive assertion of several Fathers to the contrary.

1. *The universal and perfect silence of the Scriptures of the New Testament, as to any miraculous actions wrought by our Saviour in his infancy, is no inconsiderable proof that none were wrought by him.* For had there been any such multitudes of miracles wrought by our Saviour, as these Gospels pretend, it is not possible to suppose his own disciples and companions should have been so entirely unacquainted with them, as not to have known any one of them. It cannot be with any reason imagined, but that they who had the greatest intimacy with him, and his mother too, would have sometime heard somewhat concerning the many strange and surprising miracles, which these Gospels ascribe to him in his infant state; especially considering that they were so particularly informed as to the circumstances of his wondrous conception and birth. Now had they known them, the same reasons which influenced them to publish his other miracles, would have influenced them also to publish these; which as they have not done, nor said any thing of this sort, except his disputing with the doctors, Luke ii. 47. I think it reasonable to conclude that our Saviour wrought none.

2. The same may be fairly concluded from *the universal and perfect silence of all the first Christian writers in this matter.* Had our Lord wrought such numbers of mighty works in his infancy, it is preposterous to imagine, that in a century or two they should be quite buried and forgot. Can it be thought none of them would have been remembered, and transmitted down through an age or two? none of them be found out by the zealous Christians of those times, who were so studious to

to

to know whatsoever related to Jesus Christ? And if they were then known, it is no less preposterous to imagine, that no footsteps, no intimation of them should be found in any of the Christian writings. But it is certain, that if we search all the first records and monuments of Christianity, we shall not find any one instance, except that forgery expressly charged upon the Gnosticks (about his learning the alphabet) by Irenæus adv. Hæres. l. 1. c. 17.

Though they continually urge our Saviour's miracles, done in his publick ministry, to support their new religion against the objections of the Heathens, yet they never make any appeal to any done in his infancy; which I think would at least have been as serviceable, if not more serviceable to their purpose, than the former. Yea, and though it was particularly objected against Christ by Celsus^a, and others, that *he was a magician, and learned his magical arts of the Egyptians, among whom he was brought up*, yet even on this occasion we find no mention of the miracles which he wrought in Egypt; whereas nothing would have been a more demonstrative answer to them, than to have instanced in those miracles which he wrought there; and to have shewn, that as they could not possibly have been performed by any art of magick, so they were performed in his infancy when he was incapable to learn any thing, and when it was impossible he should have learnt those arts^b.

3. It is yet more evident, that Christ wrought no miracles in his infancy, *from the express declaration and intimations of Scripture to the contrary.*

(1.) The express declaration I refer to, is that in St. John's Gospel, ch. ii. v. 11. where we read, *This beginning of miracles did Jesus in Cana of Galilee, and manifested forth his glory; and his Disciples believed on him.* Before I come di-

^a Vid. Orig. cont. Cels. l. 1. p. 30. et l. 8. p. 384. et Spencer. Annot. in lib. 1. p. 7.

^b See the former Volume, Part II. Ch. XIV. p. 191, 192. And besides the places there cited, in which the Heathens charge Christ

as a magician, out of Eusebius, Arnobius, and Austin, see Lactant. l. 5. c. 3. August. de Consens. Evang. l. 1. c. 8, 9, 10, 14. and Elmenhorst's Notes on the place of Arnobius there cited.

where, when the Virgin perceived wine wanting, she says, *They have no wine*, and ver. 5. where she says to the servant, *Whatsoever he saith unto you, do it*; from whence they conclude, *she expected a miracle, and was confident that Christ would work one to supply the want*; and that she was thus persuaded, because *she had seen him work miracles before*, and, as they imagine, *that she had seen him on some occasion in an extraordinary manner supply the necessities and indigences of the family, when he lived private with Joseph*. This opinion I find mentioned by Chemnitius ^a, Dr. Lightfoot ^b, Dr. Whitby ^c, but espoused by Le Clerc ^d.

“ Elle lui demandoit qu’il suppléât par un miracle ce qui manquoit à ces gens là, comme Elié avoit autrefois augmenté l’huile de la veuve de Sarepta. Pour faire cette demande à Jesus Christ, il falloit que la Sainte Vierge eût été témoin de quelque miracle fait en particulier par son Fils; car on voit par le v. 11. qu’il n’en avoit encore point fait en public: viz. *She requested of Christ that he would supply what was wanting by a miracle, as Elijah had heretofore increased the widow of Sarepta’s oil. In making this request to Jesus Christ, it must be implied, that the holy Virgin had before seen some miracle wrought by her son in private; for it appears by v. 11. that he had not yet wrought any in publick.*” To the same purpose Dr. Collins on ver. 3. *Though Christ had done no publick miracle, yet what the Virgin might have seen of him in thirty years, while he lived at home with her, we cannot tell.*

To which I answer, that if our Saviour wrought *no publick miracle*, it makes not against what I contend for, nor at all for the credit of *the Gospel of the Infancy*, the miracles which are related there being *sufficiently publick*. But the truth is, there is no foundation for the opinion, because she might well ask this question upon her certain knowledge that he was the Son of God, and the Messiah, though she had never seen him

^a Lib. cit. p. 100.

^b Second part of the Harmony of the Evangelists on John ii. 3. p.

109.

^c Annot. on John ii. 11.

^d See his French Testament, and his Notes on John ii. 3. and 11.

do any miracle ; but besides, she had lately had sufficient intimation that he now would work miracles, and manifest his glory by John's testimony, and the Spirit's descending upon him, and from what he had said but the day before, John i. 51. *From henceforth ye shall see the heavens opened, and the Angels of God ascending and descending upon the son of man.* " In this " he plainly told his Disciples (says Doctor Lightfoot *) there " present (and there is very good ground to suppose her there " in the company too), that they should see [αὐτὸν ἀεὶ] from " that time some divine and heavenly manifestation of him— " and that he would now begin to shew himself, in his act- " ings and working of wonders, agreeable and suitable to one " that had heaven and angels at his will and attendance. " Upon this it is that she builds her request, &c."

Upon the whole then I think it is very evident, that our Saviour wrought no miracle before this in Cana, of *turning the water into wine*, in the beginning of his publick ministry ; and consequently, that all those stories in the Gospels of Christ's Infancy are false and spurious, and therefore the Gospels themselves Apocryphal by Prop. VIII.

I shall only observe farther here, that in searching among the criticks on the preceding text, I have observed two of them, who not only explain it as I have done, but *apply it to the same purpose*, viz. Estius and Chemnitius, who hence conclude the spuriousness of the accounts of our Saviour's Infancy ; whose judgments I cannot here omit.

The first (viz. Estius, on John ii. 3.) speaks to this purpose: " It is a question (says he) whether Mary ever saw her " son work a miracle before this time, when he turned water " into wine. One would be apt to think she had, because " she so confidently requests him to work a miracle, as though " it were somewhat usual to her. But on the contrary, the " Evangelist declares *Christ to have wrought his first miracle " now ; for the book of the Infancy of our Saviour, in which " are related certain miracles wrought by Christ, has been re- " jected by the Church as Apocryphal.* So that we are to con-

* Loc. jam cit.

“clude, that Christ never wrought any miracle, which was
 “seen, before this time: and as to the Virgin’s petition, it
 “proceeded from her great faith in her son, as the Son of
 “God, according as the Angel had told her ^a.”

Again on these words, ver. 11. *This beginning of miracles did Jesus*, he notes, *Mendax igitur est liber de Infantia Salvatoris, viz. That the book of our Saviour’s Infancy appears from hence to be lying and false.*

The learned Chemnitius ^b expresses himself more largely to the following purpose: “Some suppose our Saviour wrought miracles before this in Cana; but Chrysostom has very justly disproved this opinion, and *refuted the groundless stories of our Saviour’s Infancy*; for the Evangelist says, that by this miracle *Christ began to manifest his glory, so that his Disciples believed on him*: but the miracles of our Saviour’s Infancy, if he had wrought any, would have been more wonderful and famous, as being wrought by a boy, than those which he wrought afterwards; so that his glory would have been before manifested to Israel; although the Baptist says, *he was sent to manifest it*, John i. 31.”

The antient editor of Jerome’s works uses the same argument against the book of Christ’s Infancy, viz. that *Christ wrought no miracle before this in Cana*; and thinks the argument so good, as for that reason to omit inserting it among Jerome’s works; though he says he found it in a MS. among Jerome’s works, as translated by him. See Par. II. Tract. VI. Epist. 82. Fol. 140. after the Epistle of Jerome to Chromatius and Heliodorus.

(2.) As it is evident from the express declaration of Scripture, that Christ wrought no miracle in his infancy; so *there are several intimations in the sacred writings*, from whence the same may be fairly deduced; for instance,

1.) Mark iii. 21. we read, that when our Lord’s friends, *οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ*, i. e. his kinsmen, or as the Syriack interpreter

^a In difficultior. loc. Script. in Evang. Joann. c. ii.

^b Harmon. Evang. tom. 1. l. 2. c. 26. p. 97.

Besides, De Dieu has proved, that Casaubon mistook the Arabick translation, which really means the same which I have above said, viz. that *they imagined him mad, and out of his senses.*

2.) *The design and end of John the Baptist's mission seem clearly to intimate, that Christ had wrought no miracles before his entrance upon his public ministry.* John was sent to be Christ's forerunner, to give some dark intimations of Christ's coming, and the design of it, and at length to *manifest him* (as himself phrases it, John i. 31.) *to Israel.* But now, if our Lord had wrought so many miracles *in his infancy* as these Gospels pretend, there would have been little occasion for John to have revealed him, seeing he and his glory must have been sufficiently manifest before.

3.) Had Christ wrought miracles *in his infancy*, so many and so great as these Gospels pretend, how could John have been so ignorant of him, and so unacquainted with him, as he says he was till the time of his baptism (see John i. 31, &c.), especially seeing that the *Gospel of the Infancy* relates many miracles done by Christ, and such as were publickly known in and about the places where John was ?

4.) It is not agreeable to the Scripture-accounts of Christ to suppose he wrought miracles *in his infancy*; because the design of miracles being (as it is plain from Scripture) to confirm doctrine, our Lord not having yet preached any new doctrine, miracles would have been superfluous and needless. *Ante auspiciationem muneris signa supervacua fuissent; miracles were to no purpose before he began his ministry* *.

Thus from the silence of Scripture, and the first Christian writers, from the express testimony and several intimations in Scripture, I have endeavoured to shew that our Lord wrought no miracles during his infancy; and consequently, that the Gospels of his Infancy are spurious and Apocryphal.

4. The same will be farther evident from the *express testimony of antient Christian writers.* To this purpose there is a

* Grot. in loc.

known passage in Epiphanius ^a, viz. *That Christ wrought his first miracle in Cana of Galilee, the third day after he began to preach; for Christ is not said to have been at the marriage before his temptation; nor did he work any miracles, or preach any sermons before that time, except some things which some say he did at play when he was a child. And indeed it was fit some things should be done by him in his childhood, that there might not be any foundation for the assertions of those hereticks, who say, that Christ (or the divine and extraordinary nature) did not come upon him till he was baptized in Jordan, in the form of a dove* ^b. And a little after^c, *He wrought his first miracle in Cana of Galilee, not before his baptism, as I have often said, &c.* There is indeed some difficulty in these words of Epiphanius; but unless we will suppose him to contradict himself, we must conclude that he looked upon the miracles of Christ's infancy to be fables; and though he says it was necessary some things should be done in his infancy, it is plain by what follows, that he peculiarly respected our Lord's discourse with the doctors in the Temple at twelve years of age, recorded Luke ii. 46.

Next to Epiphanius I could instance in Nonnus, who lived in or near the same time, whose paraphrase on those words John ii. 11. is thus,

^a Hæref. 51. Alogor. §. 20.
Τὸτο πρῶτον σημεῖον ποιῶναι τῇ
τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ κηρύγματος ἐν Κανᾷ
τῆς Γαλιλαίας· ὅτι γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ
πειρασμοῦ ἐν γάμῳ φάσκει τὸν Χριστὸν
ἦναι· ὃ γὰρ ὅλως τῇ τῶν θεοση-
μίων καὶ τοῦ κηρύγματος πρὸ τοῦ
πειρασμοῦ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐργάσατο, εἰ μὴ
τι ἂν ᾄδεται περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν παιδὶ πι-
πεικέναι, ὡς ἐν παιγνίῳ, ὡς τινὲς
φάσκουσιν. Καὶ ἰδοὺ τῇ μὲν ὅτι
(παιδὶ) καὶ παιδαρικᾷ αὐτὸν ἔχειν,
ἵνα μὴ πρὸφασις γίνηται Αἰρίστοι,
ταῖς λεγούσαις, ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου
ἦλθε Χριστὸς εἰς αὐτὸν, ὅπου ἐστὶν ἡ
περιστερά.

^b He means the followers of Cer-
rinthus, whose opinion was, that
Jesus was not born of a Virgin,
but in the ordinary way begotten
by Joseph, and born of Mary as
other children, and consequently
was a mere man; but at the time of
his baptism, Christ (i. e. the Holy
Ghost) descended upon him in the
form of a dove, by which he wrought
his miracles; at length, at his suf-
fering, Christ, or that which came
from above, left Jesus. See Iren.
advers. Hæref. l. i. c. 25. and E-
piph. Hæref. 28. §. 1.

^c Hæref. 51. §. 21.

Πρωτοφανὲς

Πρωτοφανές τόδε Θαῦμα φιλακρήτῳ παρὰ πατρῷ

Ἰησοῦς ἐτέλεσεν, ὅπῃ Καναναῖον ἀκύνει

Ἐνδίων αἰπυδμητὸν ἀκερσεκόμων Γαλιλαίων.

The substance of which is, that Christ wrought his first miracle at the marriage in Cana of Galilee.

Chrysostom^a is more large on the head; and not only asserts, that *Christ had wrought no miracle before that in Cana of Galilee, but censures the Virgin of too great vanity and forwardness, in desiring Christ to work a miracle, when as yet she had never seen him work one*; and in another place expressly calls those miracles which are ascribed to Christ's infancy, *forgeries and lies*^b.

Theophylact has, according to his custom, transcribed Chrysostom on this place, and adds several reasons, by which he endeavours to make it certain that Christ wrought no miracle in his infancy, or before his baptism^c.

To conclude then: if there be no intimation in Scripture, no intimation in the primitive writers of Christianity, that Christ wrought any miracles in his infancy; if on the other hand it be positively asserted in Scripture, and the first Christian writers, that he did not; it is incontestable proof, that *these Gospels of Christ's Infancy are spurious and Apocryphal* by Prop. VIII.

^a Homil. 20. in Joann. ii. apud Sixt. Senenf. Biblioth. Sanct. l. 6. Annot. 185. p. 504. et Annot. 58.

P. 453.

^b Homil. 16. in Joann.

^c Enarrat. in Joann. ii.

C H A P. XXVI.

Other Arguments to prove the Gospels of Christ's Infancy Apocryphal. They contain many trifling Stories : a Catalogue of them. They contain many false Things : a Catalogue of those.

ARG. III. *THE* multitude of idle and silly stories, trifling and ludicrous relations, which are contained in these Gospels, are a most clear and demonstrative proof that they are spurious and Apocryphal, by Prop. IX.

To collect the trifling stories here related, would be in a manner to transcribe the whole Gospels again, there being indeed scarce any thing in either of them (except some few things borrowed from our received Gospels) which does not appear evidently romantick and fabulous ; however, for the more clear proof of this matter, I shall produce the following instances.

A Catalogue of trifling and idle Stories in the Gospels of Christ's Infancy.

1. CHRIST's speaking in his cradle, and kindly informing his mother that he was her son. In Mr. Sike's Gospel, Ch. I.
2. An old woman takes Christ's foreskin, or navel-string, preserves it in the alabaster-box, out of which oil was poured on Christ's head by Mary, (Mark xiv. 3, &c.) Ch. V.
3. Mary gives the women one of Christ's swaddling-clothes, which, thrown in the fire, does not burn. Ch. VIII.
4. The girth of the saddle breaks, and the great idol in Egypt falls down upon Christ's coming there. Ch. X.
5. A second miracle wrought by the swaddling-clothes of Christ, viz. several devils cast out of a boy's mouth in the shape of serpents and crows. Ch. XI.

6. Robbers hear a noise like that of a king and army when Christ approached, and fly away. Ch. XIII.
7. A girl cured of a leprosy by water which had washed Christ's body. Ch. XVII.
8. Another cured of a leprosy by the same water. Ch. XVIII.
9. A man made able to know his wife, who was bewitched and could not. Ch. XIX.
10. A young man by witchcraft turned into a mule; Christ is put upon the mule's back, and he becomes a man again. Ch. XX, XXI.
11. An idolatrous city turned into heaps of sand at Christ's approach. Ch. XXIII.
12. Christ makes a well to wash his clothes in a sycamore-tree; and from Christ's sweat proceeds a balsam. Ch. XXIV.
13. The water that washed Christ's body cures a sick boy. Ch. XXVII.
14. Another boy cured of the same distemper by the same water. Ch. XXVIII.
15. A third miracle (viz. a sick boy cured) performed by Christ's swaddling-clothes. (See Num. 3. and 5). The same boy unhurt in a hot oven and the bottom of a well. Ch. XXIX.
16. Bartholomew cured by lying in Christ's bed. Ch. XXX.
17. A third miracle (viz. a woman's leprosy cured) performed by the water that washed Christ's body. Ch. XXXI. See Num. 13, 14.
18. A fourth miracle (viz. a girl cured of a leprosy) by the water which washed Christ's body. Ch. XXXII. See Num. 13, 14, 17, above in this catalogue.
19. A fourth miracle performed by Christ's swaddling-clothes, viz. fire and hot coals shot out of the swaddling-clothes, and drove out the Devil in the shape of a dragon. Ch. XXXIII, XXXIV. See No. 3, 5, and 15, in this catalogue.
20. Judas, who betrayed Christ when a boy, possessed by a Devil, strives to bite Christ, and hurt his right side, and

made Christ cry, upon which the Devil went out in the likeness of a mad dog. Ch. XXXV.

21. Christ at play with the boys, makes the figures of animals out of clay, at length gives them life, &c. Ch. XXXVI. See the other Gospel, Ch. II.

22. Christ at play with the boys, goes into a dyer's shop, puts all the pieces of cloth into one furnace, and brings them out of various colours. Ch. XXXVII. See the other Gospel, Ch. VII.

23. Christ works with Joseph at his carpenter's trade ; makes his work to be of just dimensions by speaking. Ch. XXXVIII. Makes a king's throne, which Joseph had made too short, long enough, by his pulling at one end and Joseph at the other. Ch. XXXIX.

24. Christ angry with some boys for running from him at play, turns them into kids three years old, who were in a furnace ; afterwards changes them into boys again. Ch. XL.

25. Christ is made king, and crowned by the boys. Ch. XLI.

26. Christ leaves his play, to make a serpent, which had stung a boy, suck the poison out again. Ch. XLII.

27. Christ at play with the boys on the top of a house, one of them fell down and died ; Christ brings him to life. Ch. XLIV.

28. Christ sent out by his mother to fetch water, breaks the pot and loses the water, but gathers and brings it in his mantle. Ch. XLV.

29. Christ and other boys at play on the Sabbath-day, makes little fish-pools by the river side ; adorns the sides of them with sparrows formed out of clay ; turns these into living birds ; is reprov'd by a Jew for violating the Sabbath, and strikes him dead. Ch. XLVI.

30. Christ kills a boy who ran against him in the street, Ch. XLVII. See the other Gospel, Ch. IV.

31. Christ learns his A, B, C ; his master threatens to whip him ; he tells him strange things. Ch. XLVIII. See the other Gospel, Ch. VI.

32. Christ

32. Christ is sent to another master ; his master lifting up his hand to whip him, his hand withers, and he dies. His father and mother resolve to keep him at home. Ch. XLIX.

These are some of the idle and incredible stories or fables of the preceding Gospels ; silly enough, without any farther proof, to evidence the books to be written either by men destitute of honesty or sense, or both ; and consequently not to be the work of St. Thomas, or any one of the Apostles, but *spurious and Apocryphal* by Prop. IX.

ARG. IV. *The Gospels of our Saviour's Infancy are Apocryphal, because there are many things which are false and contrary to certainly known truth.*

I have in a preceding argument (viz. Arg. II.) endeavoured to shew the whole contexture and design of these books to be false, because our Saviour wrought no miracles in his infancy : what I purpose here is to shew some *particular instances of falsehood in them* ; and though indeed the books contain nothing else, except a few things out of our Gospels, yet it will not be improper to single out a few instances of such as are most apparent and notorious.

A Catalogue of Falsehoods in the Gospels of Christ's Infancy.

1. **T**HE Virgin is related to have brought forth our Saviour *in a cave before she came to Bethlehem*, being not able to hold out thither. Ch. II. and III. But this is *contrary to known fact*, it being *propheesied* by Micah, (Ch. v. 2.) *asserted* by Matthew, (Ch. ii. 1, &c.) and Luke, (Ch. ii. 4, 6, &c.) that *our Saviour was born in Bethlehem*. The same falsehood I have above observed in the *Protevangelion* of James, where see more of this matter, Ch. XV. of this volume.
2. Zoradascht, or Zoroaster, is *said* (Ch. VII.) *to have predicted the wise men's coming from the East to Jerusalem to worship Christ* ; but I suppose, no one can have faith enough
to

to believe this, who considers, that Zoroaster was no more, at best, than a magician, and lived about two thousand years before this time^a, and, as Suidas says^b, *five hundred years before the Trojan war*. Besides, the plain reason why Zoroaster is here introduced prophesying of the magicians, seems plainly to have been this, that he was reckoned to have been the first author or inventor of magick^c.

3. The reason assigned (Ch. XII.) of Joseph leaving Egypt, is *his fear of the Egyptians*; but the true reason was, because the ends of his going thither were answered, viz. *Herod was dead, and he was told by an angel, that he might now venture safely to his own country*, Matt. ii. 19, &c.
4. The Virgin is said (Ch. XIV.) to have wrought a miracle, and cured a demoniack, which it does not appear she had power to do.
5. Ch. XXXIX. we read, that *the King of Jerusalem sent for Joseph to make his throne for him* (though by the way it is strange he should, when we read in the very words before, Ch. XXXVIII. *that Joseph was but a very indifferent carpenter*), but it is certain *there was at that time no king in Jerusalem*. For if we suppose our Saviour then to be ten years of age, (which is but reasonable, seeing we find him in his eighth year Ch. XXXVI.) and take in the two years which Joseph spent in making the throne, this will fall out three after the banishment of Archelaus, who was the last king of the Jews; for Archelaus reigned only nine years, and began his reign the same year, or the next year after Christ was born, viz. upon the death of Herod the Great, which is evident from Josephus^d.
6. It is false in these Gospels, that *they make Jesus Christ to*

^a At that time our best Chronologers place him. Helvicus, A. M. 2060. Isaacson, A. M. 1810. Mr. Tallets, 1900.

^b Ad voc. Ζωροάστρης.

^c Vid. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 30.

^d I.

Antiq. Jud. l. 17. a c. 8. ad finem libri. Mr. Fabricius remarks

here, that there was no king in Jerusalem at this time, and refers for proof to John xix. 15. where the Jews at our Saviour's trial say, *they had no King but Caesar*. But every one must see this is no proof that they had no king three and twenty years before, viz. in our Saviour's Infancy.

have been revengeful, and a murderer, even upon slight provocations, or indeed none at all. Such as that Ch. XXIX. when he killed the Jew who reproved him for breaking the sabbath; that Ch. XXX. when he killed a boy who in haste happened to run against him in the street, which is in the other Gospel also, Ch. III. That also Ch. XLIX. where he killed his master for going about to strike him, because he would not say his lesson.

These are things so notoriously false, because contrary to the design, (1.) *Of our Saviour's miracles*, which were all for the benefit of mankind; (2.) *Of his doctrine*, which was against revenge, and to promote charity and love; and so contrary (3.) *To his prudence*, who by such methods would have rendered himself incapable of either conversing or preaching; especially those doctrines of self-denial, suffering and forgiving injuries, which he so much did. Now from all this it must manifestly appear, that *the Gospels of our Saviour's Infancy are spurious and Apocryphal, viz. because they contain so many things contrary to certainly known truth*, by Prop. VII.

C H A P. XXVII.

The Gospels of Christ's Infancy proved Apocryphal, because they contain Things later than the Time in which they pretend to be written; such as the prodigious Respect to the Virgin Mary, which was not in the Church till the Fourth or Fifth Century; and the preserving of Reliques, unknown to the Primitive Christians. The Original of Reliques. A Digression concerning Reliques. Dr. Mill's and Mr. La Crose's Opinion about the Original of these Gospels: A Conjecture of their true Original.

ARG. V. **T**HE Gospels of our Saviour's Infancy are spurious and Apocryphal, because they contain several things which happened long after that time in which they pretend there to be written, by Prop. X.

To

To clear this, we must remember, that these Gospels have claimed Apostolick authority, and been published under the names of St. Thomas, St. Peter, and St. Matthew, as I have above said. Now there are several things here inconsistent with the Apostolick age, and much later than that time. To omit all other instances, I shall make choice of two, which appear to me most evident and demonstrative proof of the matter.

1. The first is, that *prodigious respect which through the whole Gospel (viz. of Mr. Sike) is paid to the Virgin Mary.* Sometimes she is made to *work miracles herself*, (see Ch. XIV.) *almost always is made the instrument or means of working it, and the person applied to, and receiving the praise of the work,* while Joseph stands by as an unconcerned spectator, and is never mentioned. But what is most considerable, is, that *she is canonized*, and called always (not only by the author of the Gospel, but by those who were perfect strangers to her before in Egypt, and elsewhere) *diva Maria*, and *diva sancta Maria*; which I know not how better to translate, than in the language of her worshippers, *the Lady St. Mary*. And old Simeon in his prayer, which is here, Chap. VI. and recorded Luke ii. 28, &c. is introduced as *stretching out his hands towards her, as though he worshipped her*. But of all this the first ages were ignorant; nor in the first centuries after Christ do we find any thing of this prodigious deference to the Virgin: this was an invention of later ages, and was not heard of in the Church, till the fourth or fifth century, nor so common as this book supposes, till some centuries after. I remember indeed that Epiphanius, among the heresies of his time, mentions one which he entitles, *Of the Collyridians*, which he mentions in a letter sent by him to the churches of Arabia^a, and afterwards^b, as a *distinct Heresy*. "There were some
"filly women who went from Thrace to Arabia, and spread
"their doctrine in the upper parts of Scythia, and proceeded
" (says the Father) to that degree of madness, as ἀντὶ Θεῷ ταύ-
"την παρεισάγειν ἰσχυρότατος καὶ σπουδαίοντας, καὶ ἐν ἑμφορτίῳ τῇ

^a Hæref. 78. §. 1. et 23.

^b Hæref. 79.

“καὶ θεοδουλεύειαν ποιοῦντες; viz. To endeavour to obtrude the Virgin upon us as a goddess, with a zeal and fury like mad persons. Accordingly they were wont to keep meetings, and by the devil’s instinct having adorned a table, and spread a cloth on it, at an appointed time they set bread (καλλυρίδα τινά, a sort of fine manchet, cracknels, or wafers, from which word they had their name *Collyridiani*) upon it for some days, and then made a sacrifice of it to the Virgin, and the honour of her name.” This is the first I know of any worship, or any thing like it, paid to the Virgin, and is well bantered and exposed by Epiphanius, out of whom I shall observe no more now, than that he calls it a new fable, ὡς δὲ δι’ ὧν ἡμῶν ὁ καινὸς μῦθος οὗτος ἐξηγείται; *Whence arose this new fable?* and says, *It was a heresy peculiar only to these women.* After this, I find no mention in antiquity of such regards to the Virgin for a long time. *Nondum Marianus cultus, nondum templa structa τῇ Θεοτὶν, qualia sane sequenti ævo Justinianus ex Procopio; nondum preces, Ave Maria, Salve Regina, Rosaria, &c. nondum festa in honorem Virginis, nec ullum ex septem illis festis Virgini dicatis, quorum primum (v. g. festum Ἰαννάριον, seu occursum vel purificationis) refertur a Thomasino ad tempora Justiniani ex Theophane et Anastasio: nondum miracula illi adscripta, &c.* They are the words of the learned Christian antiquary Mr. Spanheim^c, speaking of the fifth

^a See the Epistle now cited. Hæref. 78. §. 23.

^b Hæref. 79. §. 4.

^c Hist. Christ. Secul. V. p. 972. The Papists indeed pretend to prove, that there were temples long before the fifth century, built and dedicated to the honour of the Virgin; concerning which I have met with a remarkable place in *Durant. de Ritib. Eccles. Catbol.* l. 1. c. 2. whose words I thought it worth while to translate here. “Buterus Vassus, in his Spanish Chronicle, and many others, relate, that the Virgin Mary appeared to St. James in the city of Saragossa in Spain, and that there the first

“temple was built to the Virgin, and is called commonly in Spanish, *Nuestra Señora del Pilat.* Calixtus, the seventeenth Pope from Peter [According to Eusebius’s Catalogue he is the fifteenth from Peter. See the Catalogue collected by Valesius out of Eusebius. This Pope lived about the year 215.] built the temple of the Virgin, called Transyberinum (viz. on the other side the Tyber) in the same place where stood a tavern which flowed with oil during the whole day on which Christ was born. See Damasc. Vit. Pontif. Oros. l. 6. c. 18. 20. Paul. Diacon. and others. The Temple built

fifth century: "There was not yet any worship of the Virgin Mary, no temples built and dedicated to her, as by Justinian (according to Procopius) there was in the sixth century; there were as yet no prayers to her, no *Ave Maria's*, no *Salve Regina's*, no *Rosaries*, &c. no feasts as yet appointed for the honour of the Virgin, nor one of the seven feasts dedicated to the Virgin, the first of which (viz. that of purification) is from Theophanes and Anastasius referred to the time of Justinian by Thomassin; no miracles as yet ascribed to her, &c." The same is largely proved by the learned Chemnitius^a, and many others of the Reformed writers against the popish doctrine of the invocation of Saints. Now hence it follows, *the Gospel of Christ's Infancy must be spurious and Apocryphal*, as containing those compellations of the Virgin which were not known, and that respect which was not thought of, till the fourth or fifth century, or afterwards. It is Apocryphal therefore by Prop. X. and could not be the compofure of Thomas, Matthew, Peter, or any Apostle.

2. The other instance of something in this Gospel, which is later than the time of the Apostles, and which proves it spurious, is that which we read Ch. V. viz. *The old woman's taking Christ's foreskin when he was circumcised, putting it in an alabaster box of oil of spikenard; giving it her son, who was a druggist, and charging him not to sell that ointment, though he should be offered three hundred pence for it.* This smells so much of later ages, that one would be apt to imagine at first thought, that the book was the compofure of some idle monk, or Popish priest; as Erasmus^b tells us, *some person in his time wrote a book of Christ's playing with the boys in Egypt, which*

"built by the antient Argonauts
 "(viz. the companions of Jason in
 "fetching the golden fleece, such
 "as Castor, Pollux, Hercules, &c.
 "in all twenty two, about 1200
 "years before our Saviour) was
 "foretold by the Delphick Oracle,
 "that it would be consecrated to
 "Mary. So Cedrenus and Proco-
 "pius Martyr. The Virgin Pul-
 "cheria, called also Augusta, built
 "three temples to the honour of

"the Virgin Mary. Nicephor.
 "l. 14. c. 2. Among these, that in
 "the suburbs of Constantinople
 "was the chief. Glycas Annal.
 "par. 4. and Procopius is mistaken,
 "in saying it was built by Justi-
 "nian, &c."

^a Exam. Concil. Trid. Par. 3.
 p. 221, & p. 322, &c.

^b In Adagio, cui titulus *Alcinoi*
Apologus.

was

was larger than the Bible. But to come to the argument: the author of the Gospel says, *Christ's fore-skin was kept in a box of oil, or ointment, by the old woman*; though of this he is not sure; for he adds, *Others say it was his navel-string which she took and preserved*; which by the way is enough to exclude it from the Canon; for *authors pretending to inspiration should not by any means be in any doubt or uncertainty about their facts which they relate*. But however, we will suppose him to be in the right, and that it was Christ's fore-skin which was preserved (though by the way, again I observe, that both the fore-skin and the navel-string are to be seen, and commonly shewn to the miserable deluded people at Rome^a, among the other ridiculous reliques which are of so much use to the priests); yet the business of *preserving reliques* was a thing unheard of in the early ages of Christianity: the primitive Christians knew other ways more serviceable to promote the interest of religion, than by such vile delusions of the people; and the ministers of the Gospel at that time found other methods of procuring maintenance, than by such base impostures. I dare venture to affirm, that *for the first three centuries after Christ, there was nothing of this ridiculous superstition in the Christian world, nor the least intimations of it in Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, or indeed any writer of those times. Pontificii igitur suæ venerationis Reliquiarum verum aut firmum patrocinium ex probatis historiis antiquitatis primitivæ Ecclesiæ per annos trecentos et amplius, nullum habere possunt*, says Chemnitius, one of our best writers against the Papists, who had with great care and diligence enquired into this matter; and proves, *that for 300 years and upwards they have no foundation for regarding reliques in any of the genuine records of Christianity*^b. In the following pages that excellent author gives a very learned and accurate account both of the *time and occasion* of the first respect shewn to reliques, viz. that Constantine, who always endeavoured to recommend Christ-

^a The fore-skin is shewn in St. John's, and the navel-string in St. Mary's; as also the stone on which Christ was circumcised, in St.

James's. See Fabrit. Cod. Apoc. N. T. t. 1. p. 171.

^b Exam. Concil. Trident. Par. 4. p. 12, 13, &c.

ianity to the Heathens, observing with what pomp the bodies of those, who were great men among them, were translated from the obscure places where they had been buried, to more splendid and honorable places, thought proper to pay the same respect to the bodies of the Apostles, Saints, and such who had been eminent among the Christians; and accordingly did begin to translate the reliques of saints and martyrs from obscure places to Constantinople. In this he was followed by many devout persons; miracles were often wrought, or supposed to be wrought by the bones; and then more strict search was made after them. In short, men generally entertained a prodigious veneration for them; among which were Austin, Jerome, Chrysostom; and they thought the reliques and bones were the protection of their cities where they lay: hence they became desired by many; persons made long pilgrimages to see them, and it became a beneficial trade to sell them. And such was the foundation of the Popish superstition and veneration for reliques; whence it appears they could not be much regarded till about the year of Christ 350, or 400. Mr. Spanheim also places their original about the same time*. Now hence I argue, that the Gospel of our Saviour's Infancy is Apocryphal; for if there was no custom in the primitive Church of preserving and regarding reliques, and it appears, as above, that this Gospel mentions such a custom; it follows, that it was composed either in the fifth century, or in the latter end of the fourth, and consequently that it is spurious and Apocryphal by Prop. IX.

I know, indeed, that the Papists would persuade us, that the custom of worshipping reliques is of much greater antiquity. They would deduce it from Scripture, the most antient Fathers, and Councils; which are justly considered by Chemnitius in the place cited, and need no other refuting. Instead of that, I shall choose to entertain the reader in the close of this head, with a few things out of Durant's celebrated *Account of the Rites and Customs of the Catholick, or Roman Church* b.

* Hist. Christ. Secul. IV. p. 865.
& Secul. V. p. 972, 973.

b De Ritib. Eccl. Cathol. l. 1. c. 25. p. 272, &c.

After having cited several antient books to establish the Popish practice in this matter, he cites out of Chrysoftom, "*That the garments of deceased saints drive away devils.*" Out of Basil; "*He who toucheth a martyr's bones, shall become in some measure partaker of his holiness, by reason of the virtue that rests upon the body. These, says he, are bulwarks to our country, and defend us from our adversaries.*" Out of Gregory Nyssens; "*If any one happen to touch the dust of a martyr or his reliques, he will then find how desirable a thing it was to do so, and the reward of his prayers.*" Out of Gregory Nazianzen; "*The martyrs have feasts and honours appointed for them; by them devils are drove away, diseases are cured, whose bodies are able to do as much as their holy souls, if they be touched and honoured; nay, even a drop of their blood, or the least sign or mark of their suffering, will do the same as the whole body.*" Out of Austin; "*The bodies of the saints, and especially the reliques of the martyrs, are to be truly honoured as Christ's members.*" The same Father, lib. 22. c. 8. et in Serm. de Stephano, tom. 10. speaks of "*mighty miracles wrought by St. Stephen's reliques, and of a person cured of a palsy by a small parcel of dust that came out of Christ's grave.*" Out of the same (*Confess. l. 9. c. 7.*) "*That the bones and reliques of the martyrs Prothasius and Gervase cast out many devils, as the devils themselves confessed.*" Out of Jerome; "*The devil roared at the reliques of Andrew, Luke, and Timothy; that the reliques of St. Babyla stoppt the devil's mouth at the Delphick Oracle, and overthrew Apollo's Temple.*" Out of Chrysoftom; "*The Saints' reliques torment the devils — Let us go to their tombs, worship and touch their reliques with great faith, that we may obtain a blessing.*" Out of Gregory Nazianzen, "*St. Cyprian's dust is almighty, as they found who have tried it, and told us of its miracles.*" "*Basil extols Peter and Paul's chains; Chrysoftom, Austin, and Gregory speak of St. James's episcopal chain, kept by his successor at Jerusalem; Peter's key honoured by Gregory; Ambrose prefers the nails that fastened Agricola to the cross, above any treasures.*" In a word, he proves (as he thinks) from many Fathers, and nine or ten Councils, that the greatest

VOL. II. S honour

honour is due to the bones and ashes of saints. From all this we see, how in the fifth century and afterwards, men grew exceeding fond of reliques. It is not my business here to confute the opinion; nor shall I add any more; only having made this short digression, shall relate one story of reliques, which I find in the place of Chemnitius last cited, p. 20. as told by one whom he calls Andreas Abbas Amelunxhornensis, that one of our English Kings, named Edward, being troubled with the tooth-ach, ordered the teeth of Apollonia to be sent to him, which were kept in all the churches of his kingdom among the reliques, and that he had, out of the churches of England alone, so many of these teeth of Apollonia, which were kept as reliques, that several large tubs would not contain them.

I might here, if it were needful, add several other arguments by which the spuriousness of these Gospels would appear; such as, *That the temper and disposition of the author is different from any one of our Lord's disciples* (Prop. XIII.). *That several parts of it are borrowed and jumbled together out of our Gospels*, as will be evident to every one (Prop. XIV.). *That it is not in the Syriack Version* (Prop. XV.). But omitting all these, I shall conclude my discourse on these Gospels with some account of what seems to me most probable concerning *their original as to author and time.* In this matter I have not met with the opinion of any, except our countryman Dr. Mill and Mr. La Crose.

The former is of opinion, that it was a composition of the Ebionites, and intimated to be so in the Epistle under the name of Jerome to Chromatius and Heliodorus, and prefixed, together with the Protevangelion of James, before their Hebrew Gospel of Matthew; Proleg. in N. T. §. 275, 276. And in another place, viz. §. 329. that the Valentinians translated several things out of the book of Christ's Infancy into their Gospel; and §. 336. that it was interpolated, and revived the addition of several idle stories by Leucius Charinus, as is intimated in the fore-cited Epistle to Chromatius and Heliodorus.

Mr. La Crose, in a letter dated at Berlin, the fourth of the Ides of December, 1718^a, supposes it written by some person

^a Apud Fabrit. Cod. Apoc. N. T. tom. 3. p. 421.

who was a Nestorian; because in a Synod called Diamperana, held by Alexius de Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, in the diocese of Angamala, in the mountainous country of Malabar, in the year of Christ 1559, he found it thus condemned: "The book which is intitled, *Of the Infancy of our Saviour, or the History of our Lady*, already condemned by the antient saints, because it contains many blasphemies and heresies, and many fabulous stories without foundation, &c." Instances of which are produced in that Synod, the same as are in Mr. Sike's Gospel; and it is there said, that *it was commonly read among the Nestorians in Malabar*. His other reason is founded upon a trifling criticism not worth regarding. I will not here enter into a particular discussion of these two opinions, but propose what I judge most probable, and make such reflections upon them as may be to my purpose.

1. *The first book of Christ's Infancy, and the series thereof, were forged by the Gnosticks in the beginning of the second century.* This is plain from Irenæus, l. 1. c. 17. (see the preface above), who expressly saith, that *these Hereticks were the authors or inventors of these idle stories*. Dr. Mill's conjecture is therefore groundless, who supposes that the Gnosticks borrowed them out of a book of Christ's Infancy written by the Ebionites; nor does the Epistle to Chromatius and Heliodorus intimate any such thing.

2. *The book of the Infancy of our Saviour seems to have been joined to, or as a second part of the Gospel of Mary; or, which is the same, of the Protevangelion of James.* This I gather from these reasons:

1.) *Because they are spoke of as one book* in the Epistle of Chromatius and Heliodorus to Jerome, and in his answer to them^a. Their letter begins; *We have found in some Apocryphal books an account of the Virgin Queen Mary, as also the birth and infancy of our Lord Jesus Christ, in which we observe many things contrary to our faith—Armenius and Virinus tell us, that your holiness hath found a volume in Hebrew,*

^a I have published the three letters out of Jerome's works above, before the *Protevangelion of James*.

written with the Evangelist Matthew's own hand, in which is described the infant-state of the Virgin Mother and our Saviour. In Jerome's answer, after he had spoke concerning his translating it out of Hebrew, as they desired; he concludes, that he hoped he should receive the benefit of their prayers, who by means of his labour should come to the knowledge of the Infancy of our Saviour. By this one would imagine, that Jerome (or whoever was the author of the Epistle) had in one volume, the Gospel of Mary and the Gospel of the Infancy, joined together; especially seeing in the last paragraph he seems to mention the history of Christ's Infancy by itself, as what was the most considerable part of the book which he had translated. And though there be not in the Gospel of Mary, which follows these Epistles in Jerome's work, any thing of Christ's Infancy, yet it might formerly have been, and left out by some scribe afterwards.

2.) Because the compilers of the Alcoran having joined together, in a continued series of history, part of the Gospel of Mary or Protevangelion, and part of the Gospel of Christ's Infancy (Alcoran, ch. 3. p. 97, 98. See the former Volume, Append. p. 464.); this is not so likely to have happened, unless these histories had been some way or other joined together. What I have here conjectured concerning the book of Christ's Infancy being joined to the Gospel of Mary, I since find fully proved by that which the old editor of Jerome's works, after the Prologue to the Gospel of Mary, or letter to Chromatius and Heliodorus (above, Ch. XIV.) says, that he would not print *Librum ipsum de Infantia, licet in quodam exemplari repererim, qui aniles quasdam fabulas continet—quia Evangelicæ auctoritati in Cana Galilee initium signorum Salvatoris fuisse testanti repugnare videtur; the book of the Infancy, though he found it in a MS. because of its idle stories, and its not agreeing with the Gospel, which saith, Christ wrought his first miracle in Cana of Galilee.* Now hence it follows, the Gospel of the Infancy was joined to the Gospel of Mary in his copy; viz. because the preface to the Epistle of Jerome, to which the editor subjoins this, is the very same which in another

another part of Jerome's works is prefixed to the Gospel of Mary, as above, Ch. XIV.

3.) Because Cotelierius, in a note after that Gospel of the Infancy of our Saviour, which I have above transcribed out of his notes on the Constitutions of the Apostles, l. 6. c. 16. tells us, that *besides that Gospel, there is in the French King's Library a manuscript, (Num. 2276.) which begins thus, "The beginning of the history of Joachim and Anna, and "concerning the birth of the blessed mother of God, the perpetual Virgin Mary, and concerning the Infancy of our Saviour; I James, the son of Joseph, &c."* and at the end of the book is written, *Explicit liber de Infantia Salvatoris; Thus ends the book of our Saviour's Infancy.* From whence it is evident these were formerly joined as one book.

3. Hence I gather, that Seleucus, or Leucius Charinus (who is the same) *was so far concerned in altering and interpolating the Gospel of the Infancy, as to be esteemed its author.* For whereas the author of the Epistle to Chromatius says, *that Leucius was the author of the book which he translated, viz. of the Birth of Mary and the Infancy of Christ, and these two were the same;* it follows, that this notorious compiler of Apocryphal books was concerned in the forgery of the Gospels which I am now upon, or some considerable part of them. And herein Dr. Mill appears to have conjectured right. And,

4. Whereas I have above observed some things in this Gospel later than the time of Leucius Charinus, i. e. later than the end of the third century, which was the time in which he lived^a; these, I suppose, *were added either by the Nestorians, or some later Christians in Asia, whom Mr. La Croze supposes to have been the first authors of the work.*

^a This is proved, Vol. I. Part II. Ch. XXI. p. 245, &c.

C H A P. XXVIII.

The Gospel of Nicodemus, or the Acts of Pilate; taken out of the Ortbodoxographa, Vol. I. Tom. 2. p. 643.

Numb. IX.

Nicodemi Discipuli, de Magistri et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi Passione et Resurrectione, Evangelium.

The Gospel of Nicodemus the Disciple, concerning the Sufferings and Resurrection of our Master and Saviour, Jesus Christ.

CAP. I.

ANNAS enim et Caiphas, et Summas, et Datam, Gamaliel, Judas, Levi, Neptholim, Alexander, et Cyrus, et reliqui Judæi veniunt ad Pilatum propter Jesum, accusantes eum de multis accusationibus malis, et dicentes; Jesum novimus, Joseph fabri filium, de Maria natum; et dicit se esse filium Dei et Regem; et non solum hoc dicit, sed Sabbatum et paternam legem nostram vult dissolvere. Dicit Pilatus; Quid est quod ait? et quæ vult dissolvere? Dicunt ei

CHAP. I.

FOR Annas and Caiphas, and Summas, and Datam, Gamaliel, Judas, Levi, Neptholim, Alexander, Cyrus, and other Jews went to Pilate about Jesus, accusing him with many bad crimes, and said, *We are assured that Jesus is the son of Joseph the carpenter^a, and born of Mary, and that he declares himself the Son of God, and a King^b; and not only so, but attempts the dissolution of the sabbath^c, and the laws of our fathers.* Pilate replied; *What is it which he declares? and what is it which he attempts dissolving?* The Jews told him,

^a Matt. xiii. 55. & John vi. 42. John v. 17, 18. Mark xv. 2.

^c Matt. xii. 2, &c. Luke xiii. 14. John v. 18.

Judæi ; Legem habemus in Sabbato non curare ; iste autem claudos et furdos, paralyticos, cæcos, et leprosos, et dæmoniacos curavit de malis actibus. Dicit ei Pilatus ; Quomodo de malis actibus ? Dicunt ei ; Maleficus est, et in principe dæmoniorum ejicit dæmonia, et omnia ei subiecta sunt. Pilatus dicit ; Istud non est in spiritu immundo ejicere dæmonia, sed in virtute Dei. Dicunt et Judæi Pilato ; Rogamus magnitudinem vestram, ut eum jubeatis affare ante vestrum tribunal, et audite eum. Advocans autem Pilatus curso-rem, dicit ei ; Qua ratione adducetur Christus ? Exiens vero cursor, et agnoscens eum, adoravit, et fasciale involutorium, quod ferebat in manu sua, expandit in terra, dicens, Domine, super hoc ambula ; ingredere, quia præses te vocat. Videntes autem Judæi quod fecit cursor, exclamaverunt ad Pilatum, dicentes, Quare sub voce præconis non jussisti eum in-

We have a law which forbids doing cures on the sabbath-day^a; but he cures both the lame and the deaf, those afflicted with the palsy, the blind, and lepers, and demoniacs (on that day) by wicked methods^b. Pilate replied, How (can he do this) by wicked methods ? They answered, He is a conjurer, and casts out devils by the prince of the devils^c; and (so) all things become subject to him. Then said Pilate, Casting out devils seems not to be the work of an unclean spirit, but to proceed from the power of God. The Jews replied to Pilate, We entreat your highness to summon him to appear before your tribunal, and hear him yourself. Then Pilate called a messenger, and said to him, By what means will Christ be brought hither ? Then went the messenger forth, and knowing Christ, worshipped him ; and having spread the cloak which he had in his hand upon the ground, he said, Lord, walk upon this, and go in, for the governor calls thee. When

the Jews perceived what the messenger had done, they exclaimed (against him) to Pilate, and said, *Why did not you give*

^a Exod. xx. 8, &c.

^b Matt. iv. 24. & xi. 5.

^c Matt. ix. 34. & xii. 24, &c.

troire, et non per cursorem ? Curfor enim videns eum adoravit illum, et fasciæ, quod tenebat in manu, expandit ante eum in tetra, et dixit ei, Domine, vocat te præses. Advocans autem Pilatus cursorem, dixit, Quare hoc fecisti ? Dixit ei curfor, Quando misisti me de Ierofolyma ad Alexandrum, vidi Jesum sedentem super asinam humilem, et pueri Hebræorum clamabant *Osanna*, ramos tenentes in manibus suis; alii autem sternebant vestimenta sua in via, dicentes, *Salva nos qui es in caelis; Benedictus qui venis in nomine Domini.* Clamaverunt ergo adversus cursorem Judæi, dicentes, Pueri quidem Hebræorum Hebraice clamabant; tu autem quam sis Græcus, quomodo linguam Hebræam nosti ? Dicit eis curfor, Interrogavi quendam Judæorum, et dixi ei, Quid est quod clamant pueri Hebraice ? et iste mihi discernit, dicens, *Osanna* enim clamant, quod interpretatur, *O Domine, salvum me fac*, seu

him his summons by a beadle, and not by a messenger ? For the messenger, when he saw him, worshipped him, and spread the cloak which he had in his hand upon the ground before him, and said to him, Lord, the governor calls thee. Then Pilate called the messenger, and said, *Why hast thou done thus ?* The messenger replied, *When thou sentest me from Jerusalem to Alexander, I saw Jesus sitting in a mean figure upon a she-ass, and the children of the Hebrews cried out Osanna, holding boughs of trees in their hands; others spread their garments in the way, and said, Save us, thou who art in heaven; blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord.* Then the Jews cried out against the messenger, (and said) *The children of the Hebrews made their acclamations in the Hebrew language; and how couldest thou, who art a Greek, understand the Hebrew ?* The messenger answered them and said, *I asked one of the Jews, and said,*

What is this which the children do cry out in the Hebrew language ? and he explained it to me, saying, They cry out *Osanna*, which being interpreted, is, *O Lord, save me*; or, *O*

^a Matt. xxi. 8, 9, &c.

Domine, salva. Dicit eis Pilatus, Vos autem cur attestamini voces quas pueri dixerunt? Quid peccavit cursor? et ipsi tacuerunt. Dixit cursori præses, Exi, et quovis ordine introduc eum. Exiens vero cursor, fecit sicut et priori schemate, et dicit ad eum, Domine, ingredi, quoniam vocat te præses. Ingressus autem Jesus ad signiferos, qui signa ferebant, curvata sunt capita eorum, et adoraverunt Jesum. Hinc Judæi magis clamabant adversus signiferos. Pilatus vero dicit ad Judæos, Non laudatis quod ex se curvata sunt capita signorum, et adoraverunt Jesum; sed quomodo clamatis ad signiferos, quia ipsi se curvaverunt et adoraverunt? Dixerunt illi Pilato, Nos vidimus, quoniam inclinaverunt se signiferi, et adoraverunt Jesum. Advocans vero signiferos præses dixit eis, Quare sic fecistis? Dicunt signiferi Pilato, Nos viri Pagani sumus, et templorum servi; quomodo habuimus adorare eum? Etenim nos tenentes signa curvaverunt se, et adoraverunt eum.

Pagans, and worship (the gods) *in temples; and how should we think any thing about worshipping him? We only held the standards in our hands, and they bowed themselves and worshipped him.*

Lord, save. Pilate then said to them, *Why do you yourselves testify to the words spoken by the children?* (viz. by your silence.) *In what has the messenger done amiss?* And they were silent. Then the governor said unto the messenger, *Go forth, and endeavour by any means to bring him in.* But the messenger went forth, and did as before; and said, *Lord, come in, for the governor calleth thee.* And as Jesus was going in by the ensigns, who carried the standards, the tops of them bowed down and worshipped Jesus. Whereupon the Jews exclaimed more vehemently against the ensigns. But Pilate said to the Jews, *I know it is not pleasing to you that the tops of the standards did of themselves bow, and worship Jesus; but why do ye exclaim against the ensigns, as if they had bowed and worshipped?* They replied to Pilate, *We saw the ensigns themselves bowing and worshipping Jesus.* Then the governor called the ensigns, and said unto them, *Why did you do thus?* The ensigns said to Pilate, *We are all*

Dicit Pilatus ad Archisynagogos, Eligite vos viros potentes, et ipsi contineant signa, et videamus si ex se curventur. Aspicientes autem seniores Judæorum viros duodecim fortissimos potentesque senes, fecerunt continere signa, et steterunt ante conspectum præsidis. Dicit Pilatus cursori, Ejice Jesum foras, et intromitte eum iterum qualivis ordine: et exivit foras prætorium Jesus, et cursor. Et advocans Pilatus signiferos, qui tenebant signa priores, jurans eis per salutem Cæsaris, quia si non sic ferant signa ingrediente Jesu, præcidam capita vestra. Et jussit præses ingredi Jesum secundo; et fecit cursor eodem schemate sicut et prius, et multum deprecatus est Jesum, ut superascenderet et ambularet super fasciale suum; et superambulavit et ingressus est. Introeunte autem Jesu curvaverunt se signa, et adoraverunt eum.

he did walk upon it, and went in. And when Jesus went in, the standards bowed themselves (as before) and worshipped him.

II. Videns autem Pilatus, timor apprehendit eum, et cœpit exsurgere de sede sua.

him. Then said Pilate to the rulers of the synagogue, *Do ye yourselves choose some strong men, and let them hold the standards, and we shall see whether they will then bend of themselves.* So the elders of the Jews sought out twelve of the most strong and able old men, and made them hold the standards; and they stood in the presence of the governors. Then Pilate said to the messenger, *Take Jesus out, and by some means bring him in again.* And Jesus and the messenger went out of the hall. And Pilate called the ensigns who before had born the standards, and swore to them, that if they had not born the standards in that manner when Jesus (before) entered in, he would cut off their heads. Then the governor commanded Jesus to come in again; and the messenger did as he had done before, and very much entreated Jesus that he would go upon his cloak, and walk on it; and

II. But when Pilate saw this, he was afraid, and was about to rise from his seat. But

Cogitante autem eo exsurgere de fede sua, matrona ipsius Pilati procul posita, misit ad eum, dicens, Nihil tibi et justo illi; multa enim passa sum in visu propter eum hac nocte. Audientes autem hæc Judæi, dixerunt Pilato, Nunquid non diximus tibi quoniam maleficus est? Ecce, somnium immisit ad uxorem tuam. Pilatus vero advocans Jesum, dixit, Num audisti quod isti adversum te testantur, et nihil dicis? Jesus respondit ei, Si non haberent potestatem loquendi, non loquerentur; sed quoniam unusquisque potestatem habet oris sui, loqui bona et mala, ipsi videbunt. Respondentes autem seniores Judæorum, dicunt ad Jesum, Quid nos videbimus? Nos primum de te vidimus, quod ex fornicatione natus es; secundo, quod pro nativitate tua in Bethlehem infantes interfecti sunt; tertio, quod pater tuus, et mater tua Maria, fugerunt in Egyptum, eo quod non haberent fiduciam in populo. Dicunt quidam de astantibus benigne ex Judæis, Nos non dicimus eum esse natum ex

But while he thought to rise, his own wife, who stood at a distance, sent to him, saying, *Have thou nothing to do with that just man; for I have suffered much concerning him in a vision this night.* When the Jews heard this, they said to Pilate, *Did we not say unto thee, He is a conjurer? Behold, he hath caused thy wife to dream.* Pilate then calling Jesus, said, *Hast thou heard what they testify against thee, and makest no answer?* Jesus replied, *If they had not a power of speaking, they could not have spoke; but because every one has the command of his own tongue, to speak both good and bad, let them look to it.* But the elders of the Jews answered, and said to Jesus, *What shall we look to? In the first place, we know this concerning thee, that thou wast born through fornication; secondly, that upon the account of thy birth, the infants were slain in Bethlehem; thirdly, that thy father and mother Mary fled into Egypt, because they could not trust (their own) people.* Some of the Jews who stood by, spake more favourably; *We cannot say that he was born through forni-*

* Matt. xxvii. 19.

fornicatione ; sed scimus quoniam desponsata erat mater ejus Maria Joseph, et non est natus ex fornicatione. Dicit Pilatus ad Judæos, qui dixerant eum esse natum de fornicatione, Hic sermo vester non est verus, quoniam desponsatio facta est, sicut ipsi dicunt qui sunt de gente vestra. Dicunt Pilato Annas et Caiphas, Omnis multitudo audienda est, quæ clamat quoniam ex fornicatione natus est, et maleficus est. Isti autem qui negant eum esse natum ex fornicatione, proselyti sunt et discipuli ejus. Pilatus autem dixit ad Annam et Caipham, Qui sunt proselyti ? Dicunt, Illi Paganorum filii sunt, et non facti sunt Judæi. Dicunt Eleazar, et Asterius, et Antonius, et Jacobus, Caras et Samuel, Isaac et Phinees, Crispus et Agrippa, Annas et Judas, Nos proselyti non sumus, sed filii Judæorum, et veritatem loquimur, et in desponsalicio Mariæ interfuimus. Alloquens vero Pilatus duodecim viros qui hæc dixerunt, dicit eis, Adjuro vos per salutem Cæsaris, si non est natus ex fornicatione, aut si vera

cation ; but we know that his mother Mary was betrothed to Joseph, and so he was not born through fornication. Then said Pilate to the Jews who affirmed him to be born through fornication, *This your account is not true, seeing there was a betrothment, as they testify who are of your own nation.* Annas and Caiphas spake to Pilate, *All this multitude of people is to be regarded, who cry out, that he was born through fornication, and is a conjurer ; but they who deny him to be born through fornication, are his proselytes and disciples.* Pilate replied to Annas and Caiphas, *Who are proselytes ?* They answer, *They are those who are the children of Pagans, and are not become Jews* (but followers of him). Then replied Eleazar, and Asterius, and Antonius, and James, Caras and Samuel, Isaac and Phinees, Crispus and Agrippa, Annas and Judas, *We are not proselytes, but children of Jews, and speak the truth, and were present when Mary was betrothed.* Then Pilate addressing himself to the twelve men who spake this, said to

them, *I conjure you by the life of Cæsar, that ye faithfully declare whether he was born through fornication, and those things be*

sunt quæ dixistis. Dicunt illi Pilato, Legem habemus non jurare, quia peccatum est: ipsi jurent per salutem Cæsaris, quoniam non est sicut diximus, et rei sumus mortis. Dicunt Annas et Caiphas ad Pilatum, Isti duodecim non credent quia scimus eum natum de stupro, et maleficum esse, et dicit seipsum esse filium Dei, et Regem; quod non credimus, et audire pertimescimus. Jubens ergo Pilatus omnem populum exire foras, absque duodecim viris qui dixerunt, quoniam non est ex fornicatione natus; sed et Jesum jussit segregare remote, et dicit eis, Qua ratione volunt Judæi Jesum occidere? Dicunt ei illi, Zelum habent, quoniam Sabbato curat. Dixit Pilatus, De bono opere volunt eum occidere? Dicunt illi, Etiam, Domine.

Pilate said, *Will they kill him for a good work*^a? They say unto him, *Yes, Sir.*

III. Pilatus vero repletus ira exivit prætorium, et dixit Judæis, Testem habeo solum, quia nec ullam culpam invenio

be true which ye have related. They answered Pilate, *We have a law, whereby we are forbid to swear, it being a sin: let them swear by the life of Cæsar that it is not as we have said, and we will be contented to be put to death.* Then said Annas and Caiphas to Pilate, *Those twelve men will not believe that we know him to be basely born, and to be a conjurer, although he pretends that he is the Son of God, and a king*^a; *which we are so far from believing, that we tremble to hear.* Then Pilate commanded every one to go out (except the twelve men who said he was not born through fornication), and Jesus to withdraw to a distance, and said to them, *Why have the Jews a mind to kill Jesus?* They answered him, *They are angry because he wrought cures on the sabbath-day.* Pi-

late said, *Will they kill him for a good work*^b? They say unto him, *Yes, Sir.*

^a John v. 17, 18. Mark xv. 2.

^b John x. 32.

in ipso homine. Dicunt Judæi Pilato, Si non esset maleficus, non tibi eum tradidissimus. Dixit eis Pilatus, Tollite eum vos, et secundum legem vestram judicate eum. Dicunt Judæi Pilato, Nobis licet occidere neminem. Dicit Pilatus Judæis, Vobis ergo dicit *Non occidas*, sed non mihi. Et ingressus est iterum prætorium, et vocavit solum Jesum, et dixit ad eum, Tu es Rex Judæorum? Et respondens Jesus dixit Pilato, A te hoc solum dicis, an alii tibi dixerunt de me? Respondens Pilatus, dixit ad Jesum, Nunquid ego Judæus sum? Gens et principes sacerdotum tradiderunt te mihi: Quid fecisti? Respondens Jesus, dixit, Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo: si ex hoc mundo esset regnum meum, ministri mei resisterent, et non traditus essem Judæis; nunc vero regnum meum non est hinc. Dixit Pilatus, Ergo Rex es tu? Respondit Jesus, Tu dicis quia Rex sum ego. Iterum dicit Jesus Pilato, Ego in hoc natus sum, et ad hoc

man^a. The Jews replied to Pilate, *If he had not been a wicked person, we had not brought him before thee.* Pilate said to them, *Do ye take him, and try him by your law.* Then the Jews said, *It is not lawful for us to put any man to death.* Pilate said to the Jews, *The command therefore, Thou shalt not kill*^b, *belongs to you, but not to me.* And he went again into the hall, and called Jesus by himself, and said to him, *Art thou the king of the Jews?* And Jesus answering, said to Pilate, *Dost thou speak this of thyself, or did the Jews tell it thee concerning me?* Pilate answering, said to Jesus, *Am I a Jew?* *The whole nation and rulers of the Jews have delivered thee up to me. What hast thou done?* Jesus answering, said, *My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, and I should not have been delivered to the Jews; but now my kingdom is not from hence.* Pilate said, *Art thou a king then?* Jesus answered, *Thou sayest that I am a king: to this end was I born, and for this end came I*

^a John xviii. 31, &c.

^b Exod. xx. 13.

natus sum, et ad hoc veni, ut testimonium perhibeam veritati, et omnis qui est ex veritate, audit meam vocem. Dicit ei Pilatus, Quid est veritas? Dicit Jesus, Veritas de coelo est. Dicit Pilatus, In terris ergo veritas non est. Dicit Jesus Pilato, Intende veritatem esse in terra inter illos, qui, dum potestatem habent judicandi, veritate utuntur, et judicia recte faciunt.

into the world; and for this purpose I came, that I should bear witness to the truth; and every one who is of the truth, heareth my voice. Pilate saith to him, What is truth? Jesus said, Truth is from heaven. Pilate said, Therefore truth is not on earth. Jesus saith to Pilate, Believe that truth is on earth among those, who when they have the power of judgment, are governed by truth, and form right judgment.

IV. Relinquens ergo Pilatus Jesum in prætorio, exiit foras ad Judæos, et dixit ad eos, Ego nec unam culpam invenio in Jesum. Dicunt illi Judæi, Ergo ipse dixit, possum dissolvere templum Dei, et in triduo reædificare illud. Dixit eis Pilatus, Quale templum est hoc de quo dicit? Dicunt ei Judæi, Quod ædificavit Salomon in quadraginta sex annis, ipse dixit destruere, et in triduo ædificare. Et iterum dicit eis Pilatus, Innocens sum ego a sanguine hominis istius; vos videritis. Dicunt ei Judæi, Sanguis ejus super nos et super filios nos-

IV. Then Pilate left Jesus in the hall, and went out to the Jews, and said, *I find not any one fault in Jesus. The Jews say unto him, But he said, I can destroy the temple of God, and in three days build it up again. Pilate saith unto them, What sort of temple is that of which he speaketh? The Jews say unto him, That which Salomon was forty six years in building^b, he said he would destroy, and in three days build up. Pilate said to them again, I am innocent from the blood of that man; do ye look to it^c. The Jews say to him, His blood be upon us and our children. Then*

^a Matt. xxvi. 61.

^b John ii. 20.

^c Matt. xxvii. 24.

tros. Advocans autem Pilatus Seniores et Scribas, Sacerdotes et Levitas, dicit eis secrete, Nolite sic facere; nihil in vestra accusatione dignum morte inveni, de curatione infirmorum et violatione Sabbati. Dicunt Sacerdotes et Levitæ Pilato, Per salutem Cæsaris, si quis blasphemaverit, dignus est morte; hic autem adversus Dominum blasphemavit. Jussit vero præses exire Judæos iterum prætorium; et advocans Jesum, dixit ei, Quid faciam tibi? Respondit ei Jesus, Sicut dictum est. Dixit ei Pilatus, Quomodo est dictum? Dixit ei Jesus, Moses et Prophetæ præconizati sunt de passione mea et resurrectione. Audientes hæc Judæi, exacerbati sunt, et dicunt Pilato, Quid amplius vis blasphemiam istius audire? Dicit Pilatus eis, Si ista verba blasphemia vobis videtur, tollite eum vos, et producite ad vestram synagogam, et secundum legem vestram judicate eum. Dicunt Judæi Pilato, Lex nostra continet, ut si homo homini peccaverit, dignus sit

Pilate calling together the Elders and Scribes, Priests and Levites, saith to them privately, *Do not act thus; I have found nothing in your charge (against him) concerning his curing sick persons, and breaking the Sabbath, worthy of death.* The Priests and Levites replied to Pilate, *By the life of Cæsar, if any one be a blasphemer, he is worthy of death;* but this man hath blasphemed against the Lord. Then the governor again commanded the Jews to depart out of the hall; and calling Jesus, said to him, *What shall I do with thee?* Jesus answered him, *(Do) according as it is written.* Pilate said to him, *How is it written?* Jesus saith to him, *Moses and the Prophets have prophesied concerning my suffering and resurrection.* The Jews hearing this, were provoked, and said to Pilate, *Why wilt thou any longer bear the blasphemy of that man?* Pilate saith to them, *If these words seem to you blasphemy, do ye take him, bring him to your court, and try him according to your law.* The Jews re-

* Lev. xxiv. 16.

accipere unam minus quadraginta; si vero in Dominum blasphemaverit hujusmodi, lapidari. Dicit eis Pilatus, Si iste sermo blasphemia est, vos judicate eum secundum vestram legem. Dicunt Judæi Pilato, Lex nostra mandat nobis, non occidere quenquam: nos volumus ut crucifigatur, quia dignus est morte crucis. Dicit eis Pilatus, Non est bonum ut crucifigatur; sed tantum corripite eum, et dimittite. Intuitus vero præses in populo et circumstante populo Judæorum, vidit plurimos Judæos lachrymantes, et dixit ad principes sacerdotum Judæorum, Non omnis multitudo desiderat eum mori. Dicunt seniores Judæorum ad Pilatum, Ideo venimus nos et tota multitudo huc, ut moriatur. Dicit Pilatus ad eos, Quare morietur? Dicunt illi, Quia dicit seipsum filium Dei esse, et Regem.

die? They said to them, *Because he declares himself to be the Son of God, and a King.*

V. Nicodemus autem quidam vir Judæus stetit ante præsidem, et dixit, Rogo te, misericors iudex, ut digneris

he shall be obliged to receive nine and thirty stripes; but if after this manner he shall blaspheme against the Lord, he shall be stoned. Pilate saith unto them, *If that speech of his was blasphemy, do ye try him according to your law.* The Jews say to Pilate, *Our Law commands us not to put any one to death^a we desire that he may be crucified, because he deserves the death of the cross.* Pilate saith to them, *It is not fit he should be crucified; let him be only whipped and sent away^b.* But when the governor looked upon the people that were present and the Jews, he saw many of the Jews in tears, and said to the chief priests of the Jews, *All the people do not desire his death.* The elders of the Jews answered to Pilate, *We and all the people came hither for this very purpose, that he should die.* Pilate saith to them, *Why should he*

die? They said to them, *Because he declares himself to be the Son of God, and a King.*

V. But Nicodemus, a certain Jew, stood before the governor, and said, *I entreat thee, O righteous judge, that*

^a Exod. xx. 13.

^b Luke xxiii. 16.

paucos meos audire sermones. Dixit Pilatus ei, Dic. Nicodemus dixit, Ego dixi Senioribus Judæorum, et Scribis, et Sacerdotibus, et Levitis, et omni multitudini Judæorum in synagoga; Quid quæritis cum homine isto? Homo iste multa signa facit bona et gloriosa, qualia nullus fecit in terra homo, nec faciet: dimitte illum, et nolite ei malum facere: si ex Deo est, stabunt signa ejus; si vero ex hominibus, dissolventur. Quia et Moses a Deo in Ægyptum missus fecit signa, quæ dixit illi facere Deus ante Pharaonem regem Ægypti. Erant ibi magi Jannes et Jambres, feceruntque et ipsi per incantationes suas signa quæ fecerat Moses, sed non per omnia. Et signa, quæ fecerunt magi; non erant ex Deo, sicut nostis vos Scribæ et Pharisei; perierunt ipsi, qui fecerunt, et omnes qui crediderunt eis. Et nunc dimittite hominem hunc; quia signa, de quibus

thou wouldst favour me with the liberty of speaking a few words. Pilate said to him, Speak on. Nicodemus said, I spake to the elders of the Jews, and the Scribes, and Priests, and Levites, and all the multitude of the Jews, in their assembly; What is it ye would do with this man? He is a man who hath wrought many useful and glorious miracles, such as no man on earth ever wrought before, nor will ever work^a. Let him go, and do him no harm: if he cometh from God, his miracles (his miraculous cures) will continue; but if from men, they will come to nought^b. Thus Moses, when he was sent by God into Egypt, wrought the miracles which God commanded him, before Pharaoh king of Egypt; and though the magicians of that country, Jannes and Jambres, wrought by their magick the same miracles which Moses did, yet they could not work all which he did^c: and the miracles, which the magicians wrought, were not of God, as ye know, O Scribes and Pharisees; but they who wrought them perished, and all who believed them^d. And now let this man go; because the very mi-

^a John iii. 2.

^b Acts v. 38.

^c These are mentioned also as the names of the magicians; 2 Tim.

iii. 8.

^d Exod. viii. 18, &c.

^e Acts v. 35. An allusion to Gamaliel's speech.

nam accusatis, ex Deo sunt, et non est dignus morte. Dicunt Judæi Nicodemo, Tu discipulus ejus factus es, et verbum pro ipso facis? Dixit ad eos Nicodemus, Nunquid et præses discipulus ejus factus est, et verbum pro ipso facit? Nunquid non constituit eum Cæsar super dignitatem istam? Erant autem Judæi tremantes, quoniam hæc audirent; et stridebant super Nicodemum, et dicebant ei, Veritatem ipsius accipias, et possessionem cum Christo habeas! Dixit Nicodemus, Amen; accipiam sicut dixistis.

racles for which ye accuse him, are from God; and he is not worthy of death. The Jews then said to Nicodemus, Art thou become his disciple, and making speeches in his favour? Nicodemus said to them, Is the governor become his disciple also, and does he make speeches for him? Did not Cæsar place him in that high post? When the Jews heard this, they trembled, and gnashed their teeth at Nicodemus, and said to him, Mayest thou receive his doctrine for truth, and have thy lot with Christ! Nicodemus replied, Amen; I will receive (his doctrine, and my lot with him) as ye have said.

VI. Ex Judæis quidam alius autem exiliens, rogabat præsidem, ut vellet audire verbum. Dicit præses, Quicquid vis dicere, dic. Ego per triginta octo annos jacui Ierosolymis juxta probaticam piscinam, patiens magnam infirmitatem, expectans sanitatem quæ fiebat in adventu Angeli, qui turbabat aquam secundum tempus; et qui prior descendisset in aquam post commotionem aquæ, sanus fiebat ab omni infirmitate. Et inve-

VI. Then another certain Jew rose up, and desired leave of the governor to hear him a few words. And the governor said, *Speak what thou hast a mind.* (He said) *I lay for thirty-eight years by the sheep-pool at Jerusalem, labouring under a great infirmity, and waiting for a cure which should be wrought by the coming of an angel, who at a certain time troubled the water; and whosoever first after the troubling of the water stepped in, was made whole of whatsoever disease he had.*

niens ibi me Jesus languidum, dixit ad me, Vis sanus fieri? Et respondi ego, Domine, non habeo hominem, ut, quum turbata fuerit aqua, mittat me in piscinam. Et dixit mihi, Surge, et tolle grabatum tuum, et ambula. Et sospes factus, statim tuli grabatum meum, et ambulavi. Dicunt Judæi Pilato, Domine Præses, interroga eum, qualis fuerit dies in qua languidus sanatus est. Dixit languidus sanatus, Sabbatum. Dicunt Judæi Pilato, Nonne sic docuimus, quia in Sabbato curat, et in principe dæmoniorum ejicit dæmonia? Et alius quidam Judæus exiens, dixit, Cæcus eram, voces audiebam, et neminem videre poteram; et quum transisset Jesus, audiivi turbam prætereuntem, et interrogavi quid esset: et dixerunt mihi, quia Jesus transiret. Et clamavi, dicens, Jesu, fili David, miserere mei. Et stans jussit me adduci ad se, et dixit mihi, Quid vis? Et dixi, Domine, ut videam. Et dixit mihi, Respice; et confestim vidi, et secutus sum

And when Jesus saw me languishing there, he said to me, Wilt thou be made whole? And I answered, Sir, I have no man, when the water is troubled, to put me into the pool. And he said unto me, Rise, take up thy bed, and walk. And I was immediately made whole, and took up my bed, and walked^a. The Jews then said to Pilate, Our Lord Governor, pray ask him what day it was on which he was cured of his infirmity. The infirm person replied, It was on the Sabbath. The Jews said to Pilate, Did we not say that he wrought his cures on the Sabbath, and cast out devils by the prince of devils? Then another certain^b Jew came forth, and said, I was blind, could hear sounds, but could not see any one; and as Jesus was going along, I heard the multitude passing by, and I asked what was there? They told me that Jesus was passing by: then I cried out, saying, Jesus, Son of David, have mercy upon me. And he stood still, and commanded that I should be brought to him, and said to me, What wilt thou? I said, Lord, that I may receive my sight. He said to me, Receive thy sight; and presently I

^a John v. 1, 2, &c.

^b Mark x. 46.

saw,

cum gaudens et gratias agens. Et alius Judæus exiens, dixit, Leprosus eram, et mundavit me solo verbo, dicens, Volo, mundare; et illico mundatus sum a lepra. Et alius Judæus exiens, dixit, Curvus eram, et erexit me verbo.

was crooked, and he made me straight by his word^o.

VII. Et mulier quædam, Veronica nomine, dixit, Sanguine fluens eram ab annis duodecim, et tetigi fimbriam vestimenti ejus, et statim fluxus sanguinis mei stetit. Dicunt Judæi, Legem habemus, mulierem ad testimonium non venire. Et quidam Judæus post alia dixit, Vidi Jesum vocari ad nuptias cum discipulis suis, et vinum deficere in Cana Galilææ; et quum defecisset vinum, præcepit ministris, ut implerent sex hydrias, quæ ibi erant, aqua, et impleverunt usque ad fummum; et benedixit eis, et convertit aquam in vinum, et biberunt omnes gentes, admirantes super hoc signum. Et

saw, and followed him, rejoicing and giving thanks. Another Jew also came forth, and said, "I was a leper, and he cured me by his word only, saying, I will, be thou clean; and presently I was cleared from my leprosy. And another Jew came forth, and said, I

VII. And a certain woman named Veronica, said^c, *I was afflicted with an issue of blood twelve years, and I touched the hem of his garment, and presently the issue of my blood stopped. The Jews then said, We have a law, that a woman shall not be allowed as an evidence. And, after other things, another Jew said, "I saw Jesus invited to a wedding with his disciples, and there was a want of wine in Cana of Galilee; and when the wine was all drank, he commanded the servants that they should fill six pots which were there with water, and they filled them up to the brim, and he blessed them, and turned the water into wine; and all*

the people drank, being surprized at this miracle. And another

^a Matt. viii. 2, &c.

^b Luke xiii. 11, &c.

^c Matt. ix. 20, &c. See concerning this woman called Veronica, and the statue which she erect-

ed to the honour of Christ, who wrought this miracle, above in this Part, Ch. IV. and Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 7. c. 18.

^d John ii. 1, &c.

alius Judæus stetit in medio, et dixit, Ego vidi Jesum in Capharnaum docentem in synagoga; et in synagoga erat quidam homo habens dæmonium; et clamavit, dicens, Sine me; quid nobis et tibi, Jesu Nazarene? Venisti perdere nos? Scio quia tu es Sanctus Dei. Et increpavit illum Jesus, et dixit illi, Obmutescere, spiritus immunde, et exi de homine; et statim exivit de isto, nihilque illi nocuit. Et hæc quidam Phariseus dixit, Ego vidi quod multa turba venit ad Jesum a Galilæa et Judæa, et maritima, et multis regionibus circa Jordanem, et multi infirmi veniebant ad eum, et sanabat omnes. Et audivi spiritus immundos clamantes et dicentes, Tu es filius Dei. Et vehementer comminabatur eis Jesus, ne illum manifestarent.

And Jesus strictly charged them, that they should not make him known.

VIII. Post hæc quidam nomine Centurio dixit, Ego in Capharnaum vidi Jesum, et rogavi eum dicens, Domine, puer meus jacet para-

Jew stood forth, and said, ^a *I saw Jesus teaching in the synagogue at Capernaum; and there was in the synagogue a certain man who had a devil; and he cried out, saying, Let me alone; what have we to do with thee, Jesus of Nazareth? Art thou come to destroy us? I know that thou art the Holy One of God. And Jesus rebuked him, saying, Hold thy peace, unclean spirit, and come out of the man; and presently he came out of him, and did not at all hurt him.* The following things were also said by a Pharisee; *I saw that a great company came to Jesus from Galilee and Judea, and the sea-coast, and many countries about Jordan; and many infirm persons came to him, and he healed them all^b. And I heard the unclean spirits crying out, and saying, ^c Thou art the Son of God.*

VIII. After this another person, whose name was Centurio, said, ^a *I saw Jesus in Capernaum, and I intreated him, saying, Lord, my servant*

^a Luke iv. 33, &c.

^b Matt. v. 23.

^c Mark iii. 11.

^d Matt. viii. 5, &c.

lyticus in domo. Et dixit mihi Jesus, Ego veniam et curabo eum. Et ego dixi, Domine, non sum dignus ut intres sub tectum meum; sed tantum dic verbum, et sanabitur puer meus. Et dixit mihi Jesus, Vade, et sicut credidisti, fiat tibi. Et sanatus est puer ex illa hora. Deinde quidam regulus dixit, Habebam filium in Capharnaum qui moriebatur; et cum audissem Jesum advenire in Galilæam, abii, et rogavi eum, ut descenderet in domum meam, et sanaret filium meum; incipiebat enim mori. Et dixit mihi, Vade, filius tuus vivit; et sanatus est filius meus ex illa hora. Et alii quidem multi ex Judæis, et viri et mulieres, clamaverunt dicentes, Vere filius Dei est iste, qui solo verbo omnia sanat, et dæmonia ei per omnia subjiuntur. Dicunt quidam ex ipsis, Non est hæc potestas nisi a Deo. Dixit Pilatus Judæis, Quare vobis docentibus dæmonia non subjiuntur? Dicunt quidam ex ipsis, Non est hæc potestas nisi a Deo, ut dæmonia subjiuntur. Alii autem dixe-

lieth at home sick of the palsy. *And Jesus said to me, I will come and cure him. But I said, Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof; but only speak the word, and my servant shall be healed. And Jesus said unto me, Go thy way; and as thou hast believed, so be it done unto thee. And my servant was healed from that same hour.* Then a certain nobleman said, *I had a son in Capernaum, who lay at the point of death; and when I heard that Jesus was come into Galilee, I went and besought him that he would come down to my house, and heal my son, for he was at the point of death. He said to me, Go thy way, thy son liveth. And my son was cured from that hour.* Besides these, also many others of the Jews, both men and women, cried out and said, *He is truly the Son of God, who cures all diseases only by his word, and to whom the devils are altogether subject.* Some of them farther said, *This power can proceed from none but God.* Pilate said to the Jews, *Why are not the devils subject to your doctors?* Some of them said, *The power of subjecting devils cannot proceed but from God.* But others said to Pilate,

runt Pilato, Quia Lazarum mortuum suscitavit post quadriduum de monumento. Audiens hæc præses, tremefactus, dixit ad multitudinem Judæorum, Quid vobis proderit, quod effundatis sanguinem innocentem?

That he had ^a raised Lazarus from the dead, after he had been four days in his grave. The governor hearing this, trembling said to the multitude of the Jews, What will it profit you to shed innocent blood?

IX. Et convocans Pilatus Nicodemum et quindecim viros, qui dixerunt quoniam non est natus ex fornicatione, dicit ad eos, Quid faciam, quoniam seditio fit in populo? Dicunt ei illi, Nescimus, ipsi videant qui seditionem commovent. Iterum Pilatus convocans multitudinem, dixit eis, Scitis, quia vobis consuetudo est per diem azymorum, ut dimittam vobis unum vincitum: habeo unum insigne vincitum homicidam, qui dicitur Barabbas, et Jesum qui dicitur Christus, in quo nullam causam mortis invenio: Quem ergo vultis ex his duobus dimitti? Clamarunt autem omnes, dicentes, Barabbam dimitte nobis. Dicit eis Pilatus, Quid ergo faciam de Jesu qui dicitur

IX. Then Pilate having called together Nicodemus, and the fifteen men who said that Jesus was not born through fornication, said to them, *What shall I do, seeing there is like to be a tumult among the people^b. They say unto him, We know not; let them look to it, who raise the tumult.* Pilate then called the multitude again, and said to them, *Ye know that ye have a custom, that I should release to you one prisoner at the feast of the passover: I have a noted prisoner, a murderer, who is called Barabbas, and Jesus who is called Christ, in whom I find nothing that deserves death: which of them therefore have you a mind that I should release to you?* They all cry out, and say, *Release to us Barabbas.* Pilate saith to them, *What then shall I do with Jesus who is called*

^a John xi. 1, &c.

^b Matt. xxvii. 24.

^c Matt. xxvii. 21, &c.

Christ?

Christus? Dicunt ei omnes, Crucifigatur. Iterum clamant dicentes Pilato, Non es Cæsaris amicus, si hunc dimittis, quia dixit se filium Dei esse et Regem. An forte vis hunc esse, et non Cæsarem? Tunc repletus furore Pilatus, dixit ad eos, Semper gens vestra seditiosa fuit, et qui profuerunt, contrarii eis fuistis. Responderunt Judæi, Qui sunt qui fuerunt pro nobis? Dicit eis Pilatus, Deus vester, qui eruit vos de dura servitute Ægyptiorum, et transduxit per mare rubrum, sicut per aridam; et in eremo cibavit vos manna et carne coturnicum, et aquam de petra produxit, et legem de cælo vobis dedit: et in omnibus irritastis Deum vestrum, et quæсивistis vobis vitulum facere conflatilem, et adorastis, et immolastis, et dixistis, *Isti sunt Dii tui, Israel, qui te eduxerunt de terra Ægypti.* Et voluit Deus vester disperdere vos, et deprecatus est Moyses pro vobis, ut non moreremini, et audivit Deus vester eum, et transtulit peccatum vestrum.

but Moses interceded for you, and your God heard him, and for-

Christ? They all answer, Let him be crucified. Again they cry out and say to Pilate, You are not the friend of Cæsar, if you release this man^a; for he hath declared that he is the Son of God, and a King. But are you inclined that he should be king, and not Cæsar? Then Pilate filled with anger said to them, Your nation hath always been seditious, and you are always against those who have been serviceable to you. The Jews replied, Who are those who have been serviceable to us? Pilate answered them, Your God who delivered you from the hard bondage of the Egyptians, and brought you over the Red sea as though it had been dry land, and fed you in the wilderness with manna and the flesh of quails, and brought water out of the rock, and gave you a law from heaven; ye provoked him all ways, and desired for yourselves a molten calf, and worshipped it, and sacrificed to it, and said, These are thy Gods, O Israel, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt! On account of which your God was inclined to destroy you;

^a John xix. 12.

Deinde exacerbati voluistis occidere Prophetas vestros Moſen et Aaron, quando fugerunt in tabernaculum, et ſemper contra Deum et ejus Prophetas murmuraviſtis. Et exſurgens de tribunali, voluit exire foras. Clamaverunt autem omnes Judæi, Regem ſcimus eſſe Cæſarem, non Jeſum: nam quando hic natus eſt; tunc Magi venerunt, et ei munera obtulerunt; quod quum auდიſſet Herodes, turbatus eſt valde, et voluit occidere eum. Quod quum cognoviſſet pater ejus, fugit in Ægyptum cum matre ſua Maria. Herodes, quum auდიſſet eum eſſe natum, voluit eum occidere; et mittens occidit omnes pueros, qui erant in Bethlehem et in omnibus ſuburbis ejus, a bimatu et infra. Audiens Pilatus hæc verba, timuit; et ſilentio facto in populo, qui clamabat, dixit ad Jeſum, Ergo Rex es tu? Dicunt ad Pilatum omnes Judæi, Iſte eſt, quem Herodes quærebat occidere. Accipiens autem Pilatus aquam, lavit manus ſuas coram populo,

gave your iniquity. Afterwards ye were enraged againſt, and would have killed your Prophets, Moſes and Aaron, when they fled to the tabernacle, and ye were always murmuring againſt God and his Prophets. And ariſing from his judgment-ſeat, he would have gone out; but the Jews all cried out, We acknowledge Cæſar to be King, and not Jeſus. Whereas this perſon, as ſoon as he was born, the wiſe men came and offered gifts unto him; which when Herod heard, he was exceedingly troubled, and would have killed him. When his father knew this, he fled with him and his mother Mary into Egypt. Herod, when he heard he was born, would have ſlain him; and accordingly ſent and ſlew all the children which were in Bethlehem, and in all the coaſts thereof, from two years old and under. When Pilate heard this account, he was afraid; and commanding ſilence among the people, who made a noiſe, he ſaid to Jeſus, Art thou therefore a king? All the Jews replied to Pilate, He*

is the very perſon whom Herod ſought to have ſlain. Then Pilate taking water, waſhed his hands before the people,

dicens, Innocens ego sum a sanguine iusti hujus; vos videritis. Et responderunt Judæi, dicentes, Sanguis ejus super nos et super filios nostros. Tunc jussit Pilatus adduci Jesum ante se, et persecutus est eum his verbis; Genus tuum comprobavit te ut Regem; propter quod, ego Herodes præcipio flagellari te secundum statuta priorum principum; et in principio te alligari, et in cruce suspendi in eo loco ubi tentus es, et duos malignos tecum, quorum nomina sunt hæc, Dimas et Gestas.

and said, *I am innocent of the blood of this just person; look ye to it*^a. The Jews answered and said, *His blood be upon us and our children*. Then Pilate commanded Jesus to be brought before him, and spake to him in the following words; *Thy own nation hath charged thee as making thyself a king; wherefore I Herod sentence thee to be whipped according to the laws of former governors; and that thou be first bound, then hanged upon a cross in that place where thou art now a prisoner; and also two criminals with thee, whose names are Dimas and Gestas*.

X. Et exivit Jesus de prætorio, et duo latrones cum eo; et quum pervenissent ad locum qui dicitur Golgotha, expoliaverunt eum vestimento suo, et præcingunt eum linteo, et coronam de spinis imponunt super caput ejus, et dant arundinem in manu ejus. Similiter et duos latrones suspendunt cum eo, Dimam a dextris, et Gestam a sinistris ejus. Jesus vero dixit, *Pater mi, parce illis, quia nesciunt*

X. Then Jesus went out of the hall, and the two thieves with him; and when they came to the place which is called Golgotha^b, they stript him of his raiment, and girt him about with a linen cloth, and put a crown of thorns upon his head, and put a reed in his hand. And in like manner did they to the two thieves who were crucified with him, Dimas on his right hand, and Gestas on his left. But Jesus said, *My father, forgive them; for they knew not*

^a Matt. xxvii. 24, &c.

^b Matt. xxvii. 33.

quid faciunt. Et diviserunt vestimenta ejus, super vestem ejus mittentes sortem. Et steterunt populi, et irridebant eum principes sacerdotum et seniores Judæorum, dicentes, Alios salvos fecit, nunc seipsum salvum faciat, si potest; si filius Dei est, nunc descendat de cruce. Deludebant eum ergo milites, et accipientes acetum et fel, offerebant ei bibere, et dicebant ad illum, Si tu es Rex Judæorum, libera teipsum. Accipiens autem Longinus miles lanceam, aperuit latus ejus, et continuo exivit sanguis et aqua. Scripsit autem Pilatus titulum super crucem, literis Hebraicis, et Latinis, et Græcis, continentem hæc, *Hic est Rex Judæorum.* Unus autem de duobus latronibus, qui crucifixi erant cum Jesu, nomine Gestas, dixit ad Jesum, Si tu es Christus, libera teipsum et nos. Respondens autem latro, qui a dextris ejus suspensus erat, nomine Dimas, increpavit eum, et dixit, Non times tu Deum, qui in hoc judicio es ex damnatis? Nos autem digne et juste, secun-

what they do. And they divided his garments, and upon his vesture they cast lots. The people in the mean time stood by, and the chief priests and elders of the Jews mocked him, saying, *He saved others, let him now save himself if he can; if he be the Son of God, let him now come down from the cross.* The soldiers also mocked him, and taking vinegar and gall, offered it to him to drink, and said to him, *If thou art king of the Jews, deliver thyself.* Then Longinus, a certain soldier, taking a spear^a, pierced his side, and presently there came forth blood and water. And Pilate wrote the title upon the cross in Hebrew, Latin, and Greek letters, viz, *This is the king of the Jews*^b. But one of the two thieves who were crucified with Jesus, whose name was Gestas, said to Jesus, *If thou art the Christ, deliver thyself and us.* But the thief who was crucified on his right hand, whose name was Dimas, answering, rebuked him, and said, *Dost not thou fear God, who art condemned to this punishment? We indeed receive rightly and*

^a John xix. 34.^b John xix. 19.

dum ea quæ fecimus, recepimus mercedem: hic autem Jesus, quid mali fecit? Et post hæc suspirans dixit ad Jesum, Memento mei, Domine, dum veneris in regnum tuum. Respondit autem Jesus, dixit ad illum, Amen dico tibi, quia hodie mecum eris in Paradiso.

justly the demerit of our actions; but this Jesus, what evil hath he done? After this groaning, he said to Jesus, Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom. Jesus answering, said to him, Verily I say unto thee, that this day thou shalt be with me in Paradise.

XI. Erat autem hora quasi sexta, et tenebræ factæ sunt super universam terram usque ad horam nonam. Sole autem obscurante, ecce velum templi scissum est a summo usque deorsum, et petrae scissæ sunt, et monumenta aperta sunt, et multa corpora sanctorum, qui dormierunt, surrexerunt. Et circa horam nonam exclamavit Jesus voce magna, dicens, *Hely, Hely, Lama zabathani?* quod est interpretatum, Deus meus, Deus meus, ut quid dereliquisti me? Et post hæc dicit Jesus, Pater, in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum; et hæc dicens, emisit spiritum. Videns autem Centurio quia Jesus sic clamans emisisset spiritum, glorificavit Deum, et dixit,

XI. And it was about the sixth hour*, and darkness was upon the face of the whole earth until the ninth hour. And while the sun was eclipsed, behold the vail of the temple was rent from the top to the bottom; and the rocks also were rent, and the graves opened, and many bodies of saints, which slept, arose. And about the ninth hour Jesus cried out with a loud voice, saying, *Hely, Hely, lama zabathani?* which, being interpreted, is, *My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me?* And after these things, Jesus said, *Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit;* and having said this, he gave up the ghost. But when the centurion saw that Jesus thus crying out gave up the ghost, he glorified God, and said,

* Matt. xxvii. 45, &c.

Vere hic homo justus erat. Et omnes populi circumstantes conturbati sunt vehementer ad spectaculum illud; et considerantes quæ facta sunt, percusserunt pectora sua, et tunc revertebantur in civitatem Jerusalem. Centurio veniens ad præsidem, retulit illi omnia quæ facta sunt. Quum autem præses audivisset omnia quæ facta erant, contristatus est nimis; et convocans Judæos simul, dixit ad illos, Vidistis signa quæ facta sunt in Sole, et cætera omnia quæ facta sunt, dum Jesus moriebatur? Quod quum audissent Judæi, responderunt præfidi, Eclipsis facta est Solis secundum veterem consuetudinem. Stabant autem omnes noti ejus a longe, similiter et mulieres quæ secutæ fuerant Jesum a Galilæa, hæc videntes. Et ecce vir quidam ab Arimathæa, nomine Joseph, qui etiam erat discipulus Jesu, occulte tamen propter metum Judæorum, venit ad præsidem, rogavitque præsidem, ut permitteret illi, ut tolleret corpus Jesu de cruce. Et præses permisit.

*Of a truth this was a just man. And all the people who stood by, were exceedingly troubled at the sight; and, reflecting upon what had passed, smote upon their breasts, and then returned to the city of Jerusalem. The centurion went to the governor, and related to him all that had passed; and when he had heard all these things, he was exceeding sorrowful; and calling the Jews together, said to them, Have ye seen the miracle of the sun's eclipse, and the other things which came to pass, while Jesus was dying? Which when the Jews heard, they answered to the governor, The eclipse of the sun happened according to its usual custom. But all those who were the acquaintance of Christ, stood at a distance, as did the women who had followed Jesus from Galilee, observing (all) these things. And *behold a certain man of Arimathæa, named Joseph, who also was a disciple of Jesus, but not openly so, for fear of the Jews, came to the governor, and intreated the governor, that he would give him leave to take away the body of Jesus from the cross. And the*

* John xix. 38.

Venit autem Nicodemus ferens secum mixturam myrrhæ et aloes, quasi libras centum, et deposuerunt Jesum cum lacrymis de cruce, et ligaverunt illum in linteis cum aromatibus, ut mos sepeliendi est Judæis, et posuerunt illum in monumentum novum, quod Joseph construxerat, et de petra excidi curaverat, in quo nullus homo positus fuerat, et advolverunt saxum magnum ad ostium speluncæ.

a great stone to the door of the sepulchre.

XII. Audientes autem iniqui Judæi, quia corpus Jesu petiit et sepelivit, quærebant et Nicodemum, et istos quindecim viros, qui dixerunt ante præsidem, quia non est natus de fornicatione, et alios bonos qui opera bona declaraverant. Omnibus autem occultatis præ timore Judæorum, solus Nicodemus ostendit se eis. Quomodo isti ingressi synagogam? et responderunt ei Judæi, Et tu quomodo ausus es ingredi synagogam, quia consentiens Christo eras? Pars illius tecum fiat in futuro seculo. Et respondit Nico-

governor gave him leave. And Nicodemus came, bringing with him a mixture of myrrh and aloes about a hundred pound weight; and they took down Jesus from the cross with tears, and bound him in linen cloaths with spices, according to the custom of burying among the Jews, and placed him in a new tomb, which Joseph had built, and caused to be cut out of a rock, in which never any man had been put; and they rolled

XII. When the unjust Jews heard that (Joseph) had begged and buried the body of Jesus, they sought after Nicodemus, and those fifteen men who had testified before the governor, that (Jesus) was not born through fornication, and other good persons, who had shewn any good actions towards him. But when they all concealed themselves through fear of the Jews, Nicodemus alone shewed himself to them, (and said) *How can such persons as these enter into the synagogue?* The Jews answered him, *But how durst thou enter into the synagogue,*

who wast a confederate with Christ? Let thy lot be along with him in the other world. Nicodemus answered, *Amen; so may*

it

demus, Amen; sic fiat, ut pars mihi sit cum isto in regno suo. Similiter et Joseph, quum ascendisset ad Judæos, dixit eis, Quare contristati estis adversum me, quia petii a Pilato corpus Jesu? Ecce, in monumento meo posui eum, et involvi in sindone munda, et apposui lapidem magnum ad ostium speluncæ. Ego bene egi circa istum; vos enim non bene egistis adversum justum, ut eum crucifigeretis, sed aceto potastis eum, et spinis eum coronastis, et flagellis lacerastis eum, et sanguinem ejus imprecari estis. Hæc audientes Judæi, contristati sunt animo et conturbati. Et apprehenderunt Joseph, et jusserunt eum custodiri ante diem sabbati usque post diem sabbatorum. Et dixerunt ei, Agnosce, quia hac hora non competit aliquid agere adversum te mali, donec primum sabbatum illucescat. Scimus autem, quia nec sepultura dignus eris, sed dabimus carnes tuas volatilibus cœli et bestiis terræ. Respondit Joseph, Iste sermo similis est Goliæ superbo, qui exprobravit Deum vivum adversus sanctum David. Scitis

who reproached the living God

it be, that I may have my lot with him in his kingdom. In like manner Joseph, when he came to the Jews, said to them, Why are ye angry with me for desiring the body of Jesus of Pilate? Behold, I have put him in my tomb, and wrapped him up in clean linen, and put a stone at the door of the sepulchre: I have acted rightly towards him; but ye have acted unjustly against that just person, in crucifying him, giving him vinegar to drink, crowning him with thorns, tearing his body with whips, and prayed down (the guilt of) his blood upon you. The Jews at the hearing of this were disquieted and troubled; and they seized Joseph, and commanded him to be put in custody before the sabbath, and kept there till the sabbath was over. And they said to him, Make confession; for at this time it is not lawful to do thee any harm, till the first day of the week come. But we know that thou wilt not be (thought) worthy of a burial; but we will give thy flesh to the birds of the air, and the beasts of the earth. Joseph answered, That speech is like (the speech of) proud Goliath,

(in speaking) against David.

But

autem vos, Scribæ et Doctores, quia Deus dicit per Prophetam, *Mibi vindictam, et ego retribuam, mihi tantum quod promittis malum.* Potens est Deus, quem in cruce suspendistis, eripere me de manu vestra. Super vos omne facinus veniet. Præses enim, quando manus suas lavit, dixit, *Mundus sum ego a sanguine, iusti hujus.* Et vos respondentes clamastis, *Sanguis ejus super nos et nostros filios.* Sicut dixistis, et pereatis in æternum. Audientes autem Judæi sermones istos, exacerbati sunt animo nimis; et apprehendentes Joseph, incluserunt eum in cubiculum, ubi non erat fenestra. Signaverunt ostium cubilis super clavem; Annas et Caiphas custodes posuerunt, et consilium fecerunt cum Sacerdotibus et Levitis, ut congregarentur omnes post diem sabbati; et cogitaverunt quali morte occiderent Joseph: hoc facto, jusserunt principes Annas et Caiphas præsentari Joseph.

this, the rulers, Annas and Caiaphas, ordered Joseph to be brought forth.

But ye Scribes and Doctors know, that God saith by the Prophet, Vengeance is mine, and I will repay to you an evil equal to that which ye have threatened to me. The God whom you have hanged upon the cross, is able to deliver me out of your hands. All your wickedness will return upon you. For the governor, when he washed his hands, said, I am clear from the blood of this just person. But ye answered and cried out, His blood be upon us and our children. According as ye have said, may ye perish for ever. The elders of the Jews hearing these words, were exceedingly enraged; and seizing Joseph, they put him into a chamber where there was no window; they fastened the door, and put a seal upon the lock; and Annas and Caiaphas placed a guard about it, and took counsel with the Priests and Levites, that they should all meet after the Sabbath, and they contrived to what death they should put Joseph. When they had done

Here something seems to be left out.

* Deut. xxxii. 35. Heb. x. 30.

XIII. Hæc audiens omnis congregatio, admirantes obstupuerunt, quia signatam invenerunt clavem cubicali, nec invenerunt Joseph. Annas et Caiphas abierunt. Hæc omnibus admirantibus, ecce quidam de militibus, qui sepulchrum custodiebant, in synagoga dixit, Quia nobis custodientibus monumentum Jesu, facta est terræ motio, et vidimus angelum Dei, quomodo revolvit monumenti lapidem et sedebat super eum; et aspectus ejus erat sicut fulgur, et vestimentum ejus sicut nix; et præ timore effecti sumus velut mortui. Et audivimus angelum dicentem mulieribus ad sepulchrum Jesu, Nolite timere; scio quod Jesum queritis crucifixum; hic surrexit, sicut prædixit. Venite, et videte locum ubi positus erat; et cito euntes, dicite discipulis ejus, quia surrexit a mortuis, et præcedet vos in Galilæam; ubi eum videbitis, sicut dixit vobis. Et convocantes Judæi omnes milites qui custodierant monumentum Jesu, dix-

XIII. When all the assembly heard this, they admired and were astonished, because they found the same seal upon the lock of the chamber, and could not find Joseph. Then Annas and Caiaphas went forth, and while they were all admiring (at Joseph's being gone), behold one of the soldiers, who kept the sepulchre (of Jesus), spake in the assembly, ^a *That while they were guarding the sepulchre of Jesus, there was an earthquake; and we saw an angel of God roll away the stone of the sepulchre and ^b sit upon it; and his countenance was like lightning, and his garment like snow; and we became through fear like persons dead. And we heard an angel saying to the women at the sepulchre of Jesus, Do not fear; I know that ye seek Jesus who was crucified: he is risen as he foretold. Come and see the place where he was laid; and go presently, and tell his disciples that he is risen from the dead, and he will go before you into Galilee; there ye shall see him, as he told you.*

Then the Jews called together all the soldiers who kept the sepulchre of Jesus, and said to them, *Who are those women,*

^a Matt. xxviii. 11, 12, &c.

^b Matt. xxviii. 1, 2, &c.

cruciat eā, Quæ sunt mulieres illæ, ad quas angelus loquutus est? Quare eas non tenuistis? Respondentes milites dixerunt, Mulieres nescimus quas fuerunt, et nos ut mortui facti sumus præ timore angeli; et quomodo potuissimus apprehendere mulieres illas? Dixerunt illis Judæi, Vivit Dominus, quia non credimus vobis. Respondentes milites dixerunt Judæis, Tanta miracula facientem Jesum vidistis et audistis, et non ei creditis; quomodo nobis credituri estis? Bene quidem dixistis, Vivit Dominus, et vere vivit ipse Dominus. Nos audivimus, quia ipsum Joseph, qui sepelivit corpus Jesu, inclusistis in cubiculo, super clavem signantes, et aperientes non invenistis eum. Date ergo vos Joseph, quem in cubiculo custoditis, et nos dabimus Jesum, quem in sepulchro custodivimus. Respondentes Judæi dixerunt, Joseph nos dabimus, date nobis Jesum. Joseph autem in civitate sua Arimathia est. Respondentes milites dixerunt, Si Joseph in Arimathia est, et Jesus in Galilæa est, sicut audivimus ab angelo dicente mulieribus. Hæc audientes Judæi timuerunt, dicentes ad

to whom the angel spoke? Why did ye not seize them? The soldiers answered and said, We know not who the women were; besides, we became as dead persons through fear, and how could we seize those women? The Jews said to them, As the Lord liveth, we do not believe you. The soldiers answering, said to the Jews, When ye saw and heard Jesus working so many miracles, and did not believe him, how should ye believe us? Ye well said, As the Lord liveth, for the Lord truly does live. We have heard that ye shut up Joseph, who buried the body of Jesus, in a chamber, under a lock which was sealed; and when ye opened it, found him not there. Do ye then produce Joseph whom ye put under guard in the chamber, and we will produce Jesus whom we guarded in the sepulchre. The Jews answered, and said, We will produce Joseph, do ye produce Jesus. But Joseph is in his own city of Arimathea. The soldiers replied, If Joseph be in Arimathea, and Jesus in Galilee, we heard the angel inform the women. The Jews hearing this, were afraid, and said among themselves, If by

semetipſos, Nequando audientes sermones iſtos, omnes credent in Jeſum. Et congregantes pecuniam multam, dederunt militibus, dicentes, Dicite, quia vobis dormientibus venerunt diſcipuli Jeſu nocte, et furati ſunt corpus Jeſu. Et ſi hoc auditum fuerit a Pilato præſide, nos ſatisfaciemus pro vobis, et ſecuros vos faciemus. Milites vero accipientes ſic dixerunt, ut a Judæis moniti ſunt; et diffamatus eſt omnibus ſermo illorum.

XIV. Quidam autem ſacerdos, nomine Phinees, et Ada præceptor, et Levita, nomine Ageus, iſti tres venerunt de Galilæa in Jeruſalem, et dixerunt principibus ſacerdotum, et omnibus qui in ſynagogis erant, Quia Jeſum crucifixiſtis, quem vidimus cum undecim diſcipulis ſuis loquentem et ſedentem in medio eorum in monte Oliveti, et dicentem eis, Euntes in mundum univerſum, prædicate omnibus gentibus, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti;

any means theſe things ſhould become publick, then every body will believe in Jeſus. Then they gathered a large ſum of money, and gave it to the ſoldiers, ſaying, Do ye tell the people that the diſciples of Jeſus came in the night when ye were aſleep, and ſtole away the body of Jeſus; and if Pilate the governor ſhould hear of this, we will ſatisfy him and ſecure you. The ſoldiers accordingly took the money, and ſaid as they were inſtructed by the Jews; and their report was ſpread abroad among all the people.

XIV. But a certain prieſt Phinees, Ada a ſchoolmaſter, and a Levite, named Ageus, they three came from Galilee to Jeruſalem, and told the chief prieſts and all who were in the ſynagogues, ſaying, *We have ſeen Jeſus, whom ye crucified, talking with his eleven diſciples, and ſitting in the miſt of them in mount Olivet, and ſaying to them^a, Go forth into the whole world, preach the Goſpel to all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghhoſt; and*

^a Matt. xxviii. 16. & Mark xvi. 16.

et qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, hic salvus erit. Et quum hæc loquutus fuisset discipulis suis, vidimus eum ascendentem in cœlum. Et hæc audientes principes sacerdotum, et seniores, et Levitæ, dixerunt tribus viris illis, Date gloriam Deo Israel, et date ei confessionem, si vera sunt quæ vidistis et audistis. Illi autem respondentes, dixerunt, Vivit Dominus patrum nostrorum, Deus Abraham, et Deus Isaac, et Deus Jacob; sicut audivimus loquentem Jesum cum discipulis suis, et sicut vidimus eum ascendentem in cœlum, sic veritatem dicimus vobis. Et respondentes tres viri dixerunt, et superaddentes sermones hos iidem tres viri dixerunt, Si verba quæ audivimus ab Jesu, et quod vidimus eum ascendentem in cœlos, taceamus, peccatum habebimus. Statim exsurgentes principes sacerdotum, tenentes legem Domini, adjuraverunt contra eos, dicentes, Jam enim amplius non nuntietis verba quæ loquuti estis de Jesu; et dederunt eis pecuniam multam, et miserunt cum eis alios viros, qui ducerent eos usque in

whosoever shall believe and be baptized, shall be saved. *And when he had said these things to his disciples, we saw him ascending up to heaven.*

When the chief Priests, and Elders, and Levites heard these things, they said to these three men, *Give glory to the God of Israel, and make confession to him, whether these things are true, which (ye say) ye have seen and heard.* They answering, said, *As the Lord of our fathers liveth, the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, according as we heard Jesus talking with his disciples, and according as we saw him ascending up to heaven, so we have related the truth to you.*

And the three men farther answered and said, adding these words, *If we should not own the words which we heard Jesus speak, and that we saw him ascending into heaven, we should be guilty of sin.* Then the chief priests immediately rose up, and holding the book of the Law in their hands, conjured those men, saying, *Ye shall no more hereafter ever declare those things which ye have spoke concerning Jesus.*

And they gave them a large sum of money, and sent other persons along with them, who

regionem suam, ut nullo modo starent in Jerusalem. Congregati sunt ergo omnes Judæi, et fecerunt inter se magnam lamentationem, dicentes, Quid est hoc signum quod factum est in Jerusalem? Annas autem et Caiaphas consolantes eos, dixerunt, Nunquid militibus, qui custodiunt monumentum Jesu, debemus credere, dicentibus nobis, quoniam angelus revolvit lapidem de ostio monumenti? Forsitan hæc discipuli ejus dixerunt eis, et dederunt pecuniam, ut hæc dicerent, et tollerent corpus Jesu. Hoc autem scitote, quod non est credendum ullo modo alienigenis; quia et a nobis acceperunt pecuniam copiosam, et secundum quod docuimus eos dicere, sic omnibus dixerunt: aut nobis habent tenere fidem, aut discipulis Jesu.

XV. Exsurgens vero Nicodemus, dixit, Recte loquimini, filii Israel. Vos audistis omnia quæ loquuti sunt tres illi viri, jurantes in lege Domini. Qui dixerunt, Vidimus Jesum loquentem cum discipulis suis super montem

should conduct them to their own country, that they might not by any means make any stay at Jerusalem. Then the Jews did assemble all together, and having expressed the most lamentable concern, said, *What is this extraordinary thing which is come to pass in Jerusalem?* But Annas and Caiaphas comforted them, saying, *Why should we believe the soldiers who guarded the sepulchre of Jesus, in telling us, that an angel rolled away the stone from the door of the sepulchre? Perhaps his own disciples told them this, and gave them money that they should say so, and they themselves took away the body of Jesus. Besides, consider this, that there is no credit to be given to foreigners (Heathens) because they also took a large sum of us, and they have declared to us according to the instructions which we gave them. They must either be faithful to us, or to the disciples of Jesus.*

XV. Then Nicodemus arose, and said, *Ye say right, O sons of Israel, ye have heard what those three men have sworn by the Law of God, who said, We have seen Jesus speaking with his disciples upon mount Olivet,* and we saw

Oliveti, et vidimus eum ascendentem in cœlum. Et docet nos Scriptura, quod beatus Helias propheta assumptus est. Et interrogatus Heliseus a filiis prophetarum, Ubi est pater noster Helias? Dixit eis, Quia assumptus est. Et dixerunt filii prophetarum ad eum, Forsitan spiritus raptuit illum in montibus Israel, forsitan inveniemus eum. Et deprecati sunt Heliseum, et ambulavit cum illis tribus diebus, et non invenerunt eum. Et nunc audite me, filii Israel, et mittamus viros in montes Israel, ne forte raptuerit spiritus Jesum, et forsitan inveniemus eum, et agemus poenitentiam. Et placuit omni populo consilium Nicodemi; et miserunt viros, et quærentes non invenerunt Jesum; et reversi dixerunt, Circumeuntibus nobis non invenimus Jesum, sed invenimus Joseph in civitate sua Arimathia. Hæc audientes principes et omnes populi, gavisi sunt, et glorificaverunt Deum Israel, quia inventus est Joseph, quem incluserunt in cubiculo, et non invenerunt. Et facientes congreg-

saw him ascending up to heaven. *And the Scripture teacheth us that the blessed Prophet Elijah was taken up to heaven; and Elisba being asked by the sons of the Prophets, Where is our father Elijah? He said to them, that he is taken up to heaven. And the sons of the Prophets said to him, Perhaps the spirit hath carried him into one of the mountains of Israel, there perhaps we shall find him. And they besought Elisba, and he walked about with them three days, and they could not find him. And now hear me, O sons of Israel, and let us send men into the mountains of Israel, lest perhaps the spirit hath carried away Jesus, and there perhaps we shall find him, and be satisfied.* And the counsel of Nicodemus pleased all the people; and they sent forth men who sought for Jesus, but could not find him; and they returning, said, *We went all about, but could not find Jesus, but we have found Joseph in his city of Arimathea.* The rulers hearing this, and all the people, were glad, and praised the God of Israel, because Joseph was

found, whom they had shut up in a chamber, and could not find. And when they had formed a large assembly, the

gationem magnam, dixerunt principes sacerdotum, Quo ordine possumus adducere Joseph ad nos, et loqui cum eo? Et tollentes tomum chartæ, scripserunt ad Joseph, dicentes, Pax tecum, et omnibus qui tecum sunt. Scimus quia peccavimus tibi et in Deum. Dignare ergo venire ad patres tuos, quia admirati sumus de assumptione tua. Scimus quia malignum consilium habuimus adversum te, et Dominus suscepit te, et ipse Dominus liberavit de consilio nostro. Pax tibi, Joseph, honorabilis ab omni plebe. Et elegerunt septem viros, amicos Joseph, et dixerunt ad eos, Dum perveneritis ad Joseph, salutate eum in pace, dantes ei epistolam. Et pervenientes viri ad Joseph, salutantes eum pacifice, dederunt ei libellum epistolæ. Et quum legisset Joseph, dixit, Benedictus Dominus Deus, qui liberaisti me ab Israel, ut non effunderet sanguinem meum. Benedictus Deus, qui protexisti me sub alis tuis. Et osculatus est eos Joseph, et suscepit in domum suam. Alia autem die ascendens Joseph asinum suum,

chief Priests said, *By what means shall we bring Joseph to us to speak with him?* And taking a piece of paper, they wrote to him, and said, *Peace be with thee, and all thy family. We know that we have offended against God and thee. Be pleased to give a visit to us your fathers, for we were perfectly surprized at your escape (from prison). We know that it was malicious counsel which we took against thee, and that the Lord took care of thee, and the Lord himself delivered thee from our designs. Peace be unto thee, Joseph, who art honourable among all the people.* And they chose seven of Joseph's friends, and said to them, *When ye come to Joseph, salute him in peace, and give him this letter.* Accordingly, when the men came to Joseph, they did salute him in peace, and gave him the letter. And when Joseph had read it, he said, *Blessed be the Lord God, who didst deliver me from the Israelites, that they could not shed my blood. Blessed be God, who hast protected me under thy wings.* And Joseph kissed them, and took them into his house. And on the morrow, Joseph mounted his ass, and
went

ambulavit cum illis, et perrexerunt in Jerusalem. Et quum audissent hæc omnes Judæi, occurrerunt ei obviam, clamantes et dicentes, Pax in introitum tuum, pater Joseph. Quibus respondens ait, Pax Domini omni populo. Et osculati sunt eum omnes. Et suscepit eum Nicodemus in domum suam, faciens magnam susceptionem. Alia autem die parasceux, Annas, et Caiaphas, et Nicodemus dixerunt ad Joseph, Da confessionem Deo Israel, et manifesta nobis omnia de quibus interrogatus fueris; quia contristati sumus, eo quod sepelisti corpus Domini Jesu; includentes te in cubiculo non invenimus te, et admirati sumus nimis, et pavor nos comprehendit, usque dum te suscepimus præsentem. Coram Deo ergo manifesta nobis quod factum est. Respondens autem Joseph, dixit, Bene reclusistis me in die parasceux ad vespertum. Quum starem in oratione mea die sabbati media nocte, suspensa est domus a quatuor angelis; et vidi Jesum sicut fulgorem lucis, et præ timore cecidi in

went along with them to Jerusalem. And when all the Jews heard these things, they went out to meet him, and cried out, saying, *Peace attend thy coming* (hither), *father Joseph*. To which he answered, *Prosperity from the Lord attend all the people*. And they all kissed him; and Nicodemus took him to his house, having provided a large entertainment. But on the morrow, being a preparation-day, Annas, and Caiaphas, and Nicodemus said to Joseph, *Make confession to the God of Israel, and answer to us all those questions which we shall ask thee; for we have been very much troubled, that thou didst bury the body of Jesus; and that when we had locked thee in a chamber, we could not find thee; and we have been afraid ever since, till this time of thy appearing among us. Tell us therefore before God, all that came to pass*. Then Joseph answering, said, *Ye did indeed put me under confinement, on the day of preparation, till the morning. But while I was standing at prayer in the middle of the night, the house was*

surrounded with four angels; and I saw Jesus as the brightness of the sun, and fell down upon the earth for fear. But
Jesus

terram. Jesus autem tenens manum meam, elevavit me de terra, rosque perfudit me; et extergens faciem meam, osculatus est me, et dixit mihi, Noli timere, Joseph; respice in me, et vide quia ego sum. Ego autem respexi, et dixi, Rabboni Helias! et dixit ad me, Non sum Helias ego, sed sum Jesus Nazarenus, cujus corpus sepelisti. Ego autem dixi ad eum, Ostende mihi monumentum ubi posui te. Jesus vero tenens manum meam, deduxit me in locum ubi posui eum, et ostendit mihi sintonem, et fasciale in quo caput ejus involveram. Tunc cognovi quia Jesus est, et adoravi eum, et dixi, Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Jesus vero tenens manum meam, duxit me in Arimathiam in domum meam, et dixit mihi, Pax tibi, et usque in quadragesimum diem non ex eas de domo tua; ego autem ambulo ad discipulos meos.

XVI. Quum hæc omnia audissent principes Sacerdotum, et cæteri Sacerdotes et Levitæ, stupefacti sunt, et veluti mortui ceciderunt in facies suas in terram, et exclamantes ad se, dixerunt,

Jesus laying hold on my hand, lifted me from the ground, and the dew was then sprinkled upon me; but he, wiping my face, kissed me, and said unto me, Fear not, Joseph; look upon me, for it is I. Then I looked upon him, and said, Rabboni Elias! He answered me, I am not Elias, but Jesus of Nazareth, whose body thou didst bury. I said to him, Shew me the tomb in which I laid thee. Then Jesus, taking me by the hand, led me unto the place where I laid him, and shewed me the linen clothes, and napkin which I put round his head. Then I knew that it was Jesus, and worshipped him, and said, Blessed be he who cometh in the name of the Lord. Jesus again taking me by the hand, led me to Arimathea to my own house, and said to me, Peace be to thee; but go not out of thy house till the fortieth day; but I must go to my disciples.

XVI. When the chief Priests and Levites heard all these things, they were astonished, and fell down with their faces on the ground as dead men, and crying out to one another, said, *What is this*

Quid est hoc signum, quod factum est in Jerusalem? Novimus patrem et matrem Jesu. Dixit et quidam Levita, Ego cognovi multos de cognatione sua timentes Deum, et cum orationibus semper in Temple hostias et holocausta offerentes Deo Israel. Et quando suscepit eum magnus Sacerdos Simeon, tenens in manibus, dixit ad eum, Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, secundum verbum tuum, in pace; quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum, quod parasti ante faciem omnium populorum: lumen ad revelationem Gentium, et gloriam plebis tue Israel. Similiter et ipse Simeon benedixit Mariam matrem Jesu, et dixit ei, Annuntio tibi de puero isto: Hic positus est in ruinam et resurrectionem multorum, et in signum contradictionis. Et tuam ipsius animam pertransibit gladius, et revelabuntur de multis cordibus cogitationes. Tunc dixerunt omnes Judæi, Mittamus ad illos tres viros, qui dixerunt se eum vidisse colloquentem cum discipulis suis in monte Oliveti. Hoc facto, interrogaverunt

this extraordinary sign which is come to pass in Jerusalem? We know the father and mother of Jesus. And a certain Levite said, I know many of his relations, religious persons, who are wont to offer sacrifices and burnt-offerings to the God of Israel, in the Temple, with prayers. And when the High-Priest Simeon took him up in his arms, he said to him, a Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people: a light to enlighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel. Simeon in like manner blessed Mary the mother of Jesus, and said to her, I declare to thee concerning that child, He is appointed for the fall and rising again of many, and for a sign which shall be spoken against. Yea, a sword shall pierce through thine own soul also, and the thoughts of many hearts shall be revealed. Then said all the Jews, Let us send to those three men, who said they saw him talking with his disciples in mount Olivet. After this, they asked them,

^a Luke ii. 29.

eos, quæ vidissent. Qui respondentes uno ore, dixerunt, Vidit Dominus Deus Israel, quia manifeste vidimus Jesum colloquentem cum discipulis suis in monte Oliveti, et ascendentem in cœlum. Tunc Annas et Caiphas segregaverunt eos ab invicem, et interrogaverunt eos singulatim; qui unanimiter veritatem confitentes, dixerunt se vidisse Jesum. Tunc Annas et Caiphas dixerunt, Lex nostra continet, In ore duorum vel trium testium stat omne verbum. Sed quid diximus? Beatus Enoch placuit Deo, et translatus est verbo Dei; et beati Mosi sepultura non invenitur. Jesus autem traditus est Pilato, flagellatus, confusus, spinis coronatus, lancea percussus, et crucifixus, in ligno mortuus, et sepultus est; et corpus ejus pater honorabilis Joseph sepelivit in sepulchro novo, et testificatus est eum vidisse vivum. Et tres viri illi testificati sunt vidisse eum colloquentem cum discipulis suis in monte Oliveti, et ascendentem in cœlum.

What they had seen; who answered with one accord, In the presence of the God of Israel we affirm, that we plainly saw Jesus talking with his disciples in mount Olivet, and ascending up to heaven. Then Annas and Caiaphas took them into separate places, and examined them separately; who unanimously confessed the truth, and said, they had seen Jesus. Then Annas and Caiaphas said, Our Law saith, By the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall be established. But what have we said? The blessed Enoch pleased God, and was translated by the word of God; and the burying-place of the blessed Moses is not known. But Jesus was delivered to Pilate, whipped, crowned with thorns, spit upon, pierced with a spear, crucified, died upon the cross, and was buried, and his body the honourable Joseph buried in a new sepulchre, and testifies that he saw him alive; and besides these men have declared, that they saw him talking with his disciples in mount Olivet, and ascending up to heaven.*

* Deut. xvii. 6.

XVII. Exsurgens autem Joseph, dixit ad Annam et Caiphiam, Vere et bene admiramini, quoniam audistis quod visus est Jesus, de morte vivus, ascendisse in coelum. Vere admirandum est, quia non solum resurrexit a mortuis, sed etiam de monumentis resuscitavit mortuos, et a multis visi sunt in Jerusalem. Et nunc audite me, quia omnes cognovimus beatum Simeonem Sacerdotem magnum, qui suscepit in manibus suis Jesum infantem in Templo. Et ipse Simeon habuit duos filios germanos fratres, et nos omnes in dormitione et in sepultura eorum fuimus. Ambulate ergo, et videte monumenta eorum; aperta enim sunt, quia surrexerunt; et ecce sunt in civitate Arimathia, simul viventes in orationibus. Quidam audiunt clamantes, cum nemine tamen loquentes, sed ut mortui silentes. Sed venite, ambulemus ad istos, cum omni honore et moderatione perducamus eos ad nos. Et si adjuraverimus eos, forsitan loquentur nobis de resurrectione eorum mysteria

swear, perhaps they will tell us some of the mysteries of their

XVII. Then Joseph rising up, said to Annas and Caiaphas, *Ye may be justly under a great surprize, that you have been told, that Jesus is alive, and gone up to heaven. It is indeed a thing really surprizing, that he should not only himself arise from the dead, but also raise others from their graves, who have been seen by many in Jerusalem^a. And now hear me a little: We all knew the blessed Simeon the high Priest, who took Jesus when an infant into his arms in the Temple. This same Simeon had two sons of his own, and we were all present at their death and funeral. Go therefore and see their tombs, for these are open, and they are risen; and behold, they are in the city of Arimathea, spending their time together in offices of devotion. Some, indeed, have heard the sound of their voices (in prayer), but they will not discourse with any one, but they continue as mute as dead men. But come, let us go to them, and behave ourselves towards them with all due respect and caution.*

And if we can bring them to

^a Matt. xxvii. 53.

quædam. Hæc audientes Judæi, gavisi sunt omnes valde. Et euntes Annas et Caiphas, Nicodemus, et Joseph, et Gamaliel, non invenerunt eos in sepulchris eorum; sed ambulantes in civitatem Arimathiam, ibi eos invenerunt in oratione flexis genibus intentos; et osculantes eos cum omni veneratione et timore Dei, perduxerunt eos Jerusalem in synagogam; et clausis januis, tollentes legem Domini, et ponentes eam in manibus eorum, adjuraverunt eos per Deum Adonai et Deum Israel, qui per legem et prophetas loquutus est patribus nostris, dicentes, Si ipsum esse creditis Jesum, qui vos suscitavit a mortuis, dicite nobis quod vidistis, et quomodo resuscitati estis a mortuis. Hanc adjurationem audientes Charinus et Lenthius, contremuerunt corpore, et conturbati corde gemuerunt; et simul respicientes in cælum, fecerunt signaculum crucis digitis suis in linguis suis; et statim sic loquuti sunt, dicentes, Date nobis singulos tomos chartæ, et scribemus vobis omnia quæ vidimus. Et dederunt eis. Et sedentes singuli scripserunt, dicentes,

resurrection. When the Jews heard this, they were exceedingly rejoiced. Then Annas and Caiaphas, Nicodemus, Joseph, and Gamaliel went (to Arimathea), but did not find them in their graves; but walking about the city, they found them on their bended knees at their devotions; then saluting them with all respect and deference to God, they brought them to the synagogue at Jerusalem; and having shut the gates, they took the book of the Law of the Lord, and putting it in their hands, swore them by God Adonai, and the God of Israel, who spake to our fathers by the law and the prophets, saying, *If ye believe him who raised you from the dead, to be Jesus, tell us what ye have seen, and how ye were raised from the dead.* Charinus and Lenthius (*viz.* the two sons of Simeon) trembled when they heard these things, and were disturbed, and groaned; and at the same time looking up to heaven, they made the sign of the cross with their fingers on their tongues, and immediately they spake, and said, *Give each of us some paper, and we will write down for you all those things which*

we have seen. And they each sat down and wrote, saying,

XVIII. Domine Jesu, et Pater Deus, mortuorum resurrectio et vita, permitte nobis loqui mysteria tua, quæ post mortem crucis tuæ vidimus, quia per te adjurati sumus: tu enim prohibuisti servis tuis, ne referrent secreta divinæ majestatis tuæ, quæ apud inferos fecisti.

Nos autem quum essemus cum patribus nostris positi in profundo inferni, in caligine tenebrarum, subito factus est aureus solis color, purpureaque realis lux illustrans; statim omnis generis humani pater. Adam cum omnibus patriarchis et prophetis exultaverunt, dicentes, Lux ista auctor luminis sempiterni est, quæ nobis promisit transmittere lumen coeternum. Et exclamavit Isaias Propheta, et dixit, Hæc est lux Patris et Filii Dei, sicut prædixi quum essem in terris vivus. Terra Zabulon et terra Nephthalim trans Jordanem, populus qui ambulabat in tenebris, vidit lucem magnam. Et qui habitabant in regione umbræ

XVIII. O Lord Jesus and Father, who art God, (also) the resurrection and life of the dead, give us leave to declare thy mysteries, which we saw after death, belonging to thy cross; for we are sworn by thy name. For thou hast forbid thy servants to declare the secret things, which were wrought by thy divine power in hell.

When we were placed with our fathers in the depth of hell, in the blackness of darkness, on a sudden there appeared the colour of the sun like gold, and a substantial purple-coloured light enlightening (the place). Presently upon this, Adam, the father of all mankind, with all the patriarchs and prophets, rejoiced and said, That light is the author of everlasting light, who hath promised to translate us to everlasting light. Then Isaiah the Prophet cried out, and said^a, This is the light of the Father, and the Son of God, according to my prophecy when I was alive upon earth. The land of Zabulon, and the land of Nephthalim beyond Jordan, a people who walked in

darkness, saw a great light; and to them who dwelled in the region of the shadow of death, light is arisen. And

^a Isai. ix. 1. Matt. iv. 16.

mortis, lux orta est eis. Et nunc advenit et illuxit nobis in morte sedentibus. Et quum exultaremus omnes in lumine, quod superluxit nobis, supervenit nobis genitor noster Simeon, et exultans omnibus dixit, Glorificate Dominum Jesum Christum Filium Dei, quem ego in manibus meis suscepi infantem in Templo, et compulsus a Spiritu Sancto, dixi ad eum confessus, Quia nunc viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum, quod parasti ante faciem omnium populorum; lumen ad revelationem Gentium; et gloriam plebis tuæ Israel. Hæc audientes omnes sancti, qui erant in profundo inferni, plus exultaverunt. Et posthæc supervenit quasi eremitula, et interrogatur ab omnibus, Quis es tu? Quibus respondens dixit, Ego sum vox clamantis in deserto, Johannes Baptista, et Propheta Altissimi, præiens ante faciem adventus ejus, præparare vias ejus, ad dandam scientiam salutis plebi ejus, in remissionem peccatorum illorum. Et ego Johannes videns Jesum venientem ad me, compulsus sum a

now he is come, and hath enlightened us who sat in death. And while we are all rejoicing in the light which shone upon us, our father Simeon came among us, and congratulating all the company, said, Glorify the Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, whom I took up in my arms when an infant in the Temple, and being moved by the Holy Ghost, said to him, and acknowledged, 'That now mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people; a light to enlighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel. All the saints who were in the depth of hell, hearing this, rejoiced the more. Afterwards there came forth one like a little hermit, and was asked by every one, Who art thou? To which he replied, I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, John the Baptist, and the prophet of the Most High, who went before his coming to prepare his way, to give the knowledge of salvation to his people for the forgiveness of sins. And I John, when I saw Jesus coming to me, being moved by

* Luke ii. 29.

Spiritu Sancto, et dixi, Ecce Agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi. Et baptizavi eum in flumine Jordanis; et vidi Spiritum Sanctum descendentem super eum in specie columbæ; et audiui vocem de cœlo, dicentem, Hic est Filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi bene complacui; ipsum audite. Et nunc præviante me ante faciem ejus, descendi annunciare vobis, quia in proximo visitabit nos ipse Filius ejus Dei, oriens ex alto veniens ad nos in tenebris et in umbra mortis.

the Holy Ghost, I said, *Behold the Lamb of God, behold him who takes away the sins of the world.* And I baptized him in the river Jordan, and saw the Holy Ghost descending upon him in the form of a dove, and heard a voice from heaven, saying, *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.* And now while I was going before him, I came down (hither) to acquaint you; that the Son of God will next visit us, and as the day-spring from on high will come to us, who are in darkness and the shadow of death.

XIX. Quum autem hæc audisset protoplastus Adam pater, quia in Jordane baptizatus est Jesus, exclamavit ad filium suum Seth, Enarra filiis tuis patriarchis et prophetis omnia quæcunque audisti a Michael archangelo, quando te transivisti ad portas Paradisi, ut deprecareris Deum, ut ungeret caput meum, quum essem infirmus. Tunc Seth appropinquans sanctis patriarchis et prophetis, dixit, Ego Seth, quum essem orans Dominum ad portas Paradisi, ecce An-

XIX. *But when the first man our father Adam heard these things, that Jesus was baptized in Jordan, he called out to his son Seth, and said, Declare to your sons the patriarchs and prophets, all those things which thou didst hear from Michael the Archangel, when I sent thee to the gates of paradise, to intreat God that he would anoint my head when I was sick. Then Seth, coming near to the patriarchs and prophets, said, I Seth, when I was praying to God at the gates of paradise, be-*

^a Matt. iii. 13.

gelus Domini Michael apparuit mihi, dicens, Ego missus sum ad te a Domino, ego sum constitutus super corpus humanum. Tibi dico, Seth, noli in lacrymis Deum orare et deprecari propter oleum misericordiae ligni, ut perungas patrem tuum Adam pro dolore capitis ejus; quia nullo modo poteris accipere, nisi novissimis in diebus et temporibus, nisi quando completi fuerint quinque millia et quingenti anni: tunc veniet super terram amantissimus Dei Filius Christus, resuscitare corpus humanum Adæ, et conresuscitare corpora mortuorum; et ipse veniens, in Jordanis aqua baptizabitur. Et quum egressus fuerit de aqua Jordanis, tunc de oleo misericordiae suae unget ex eo omnes credentes in se; et erit oleum misericordiae suae in generationem eorum, qui nascituri sunt et ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, in vitam æternam. Tunc descendens in terras amantissimus Dei Filius, Christus Jesus, introducet patrem nostrum Adam in Paradisum ad arborem misericordiae. Hæc autem omnia audientes a Seth, patriarchæ omnes et prophetæ exultaverunt magis.

hold the angel of the Lord, Michael, appeared unto me, saying, *I am sent unto thee from the Lord; I am appointed to preside over human bodies. I tell thee, Seth, do not pray to God in tears, and entreat him for the oil of the tree of mercy, wherewith to anoint thy father Adam for his head-ach; because thou canst not by any means obtain it, till the last day and times, viz. till five thousand and five hundred years be past. Then will Christ, the most merciful Son of God, come on earth to raise again the human body of Adam, and at the same time to raise the bodies of the dead, and when he cometh he will be baptized in Jordan; then with the oil of his mercy he will anoint all those who believe on him; and the oil of his mercy will continue to future generations, for those who shall be born of the water and the Holy Ghost unto eternal life. And when at that time the most merciful Son of God, Christ Jesus, shall come down on earth, he will introduce our father Adam into Paradise, to the tree of mercy. When all the patriarchs and prophets heard all these things from Seth, they rejoiced more.*

XX. Et cum exultarent sancti omnes, ecce Sathan, princeps et dux mortis, dixit ad principem inferorum, Appara suscipere ipsum Jesum Nazarenum, qui gloriatus est se Filium esse Dei, et est homo timens mortem, et dicens, Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem. Et multa mihi mala inferens, et pluribus aliis, quos ego cæcos feci et claudos, insuper et quos ego variis dæmoniis vexavi, ipse verbo sanavit. Et quos ad te mortuos perduxi, hos ipse a te abstraxit. Respondens autem princeps inferorum ad Sathan, dixit, Quis est iste princeps tam potens, quum sit homo mortem timens? Omnes enim potentes terræ mea potestate subjecti tenentur, quos tu subjectos perduxisti tua potentia. Si ergo potens est in humanitate, vere dico tibi, omnipotens est et in divinitate, et potentiae ejus nemo potest resistere. Et quum dicit se timere mortem, capere te vult; et vae tibi erit in sempiterna secula. Respondens autem Sathan, dixit ad principem Tartari, Quid dubitasti et timere? Then Satan replying,

XX. While all the saints were rejoicing, behold Satan, the prince and captain of death, said to the prince of hell, *Prepare to receive Jesus of Nazareth himself, who boasted that he was the Son of God, and yet was a man afraid of death, and said, 'My soul is sorrowful even to death. Besides, he did many injuries to me and to many others; for those whom I made blind and lame, and those also whom I tormented with several devils, he cured by his word; yea, and those whom I brought dead to thee, he by force takes away from thee.* To this the prince of hell replied to Satan, *Who is that so powerful prince, and yet a man who is afraid of death? For all the potentates of the earth are subject to my power, whom thou broughtest to subjection by thy power. But if he be (so) powerful in his human nature, I affirm to thee for truth, that he is almighty in his divine nature, and no man can resist his power. When therefore he said he was afraid of death, he designed to ensnare thee, and unhappy it will be to thee for everlasting ages.*

* Matt. xxvi. 38.

muisti suscipere illum Jesum Nazarenum, adversarium tuum et meum? Ego enim tentavi illum, et populum meum antiquum Judaicum excitavi zelo et ira adversus eum. Lanceam exacui ad passionem ejus, fel et acetum miscui, et jussi ei dare potum; et lignum præparavi ad crucifigendum eum, et clavos ad perforandum manus ejus et pedes; et in proximo est ejus mors, et perducam eum ad te, subjectum mihi et tibi. Respondens autem princeps Tartari, dixit, Tu mihi dixisti, quia ipse est, qui mortuos a me abstraxit. Qui hic detenti sunt dum viverent in terris, non suis potentiis, sed divinis precibus ablati sunt, et omnipotens eorum Deus abstraxit eos a me. Quis ergo est iste Jesus Nazarenus, qui suo verbo mortuos a me traxit sine precibus? Forfitan ipse est, qui Lazarum quatuor diebus mortuum, foetentem, et dissolutum, quem ego mortuum detinebam, tedivivum suo imperio a me traxit. Respondens Sathan ad principem inferorum, dixit, Ipse est ille

didst thou express a doubt, and wast afraid to receive that Jesus of Nazareth, both thy adversary and mine? As for me, I tempted him, and stirred up my old people the Jews with zeal and anger against him; I sharpened the spear for his suffering; I mixed the gall and vinegar, and commanded that he should drink it; I prepared the cross to crucify him, and the nails to pierce through his hands and feet; and now his death is near at hand, I will bring him hither, subject both to thee and me. Then the prince of hell answering, said, Thou saidst to me just now, that he took away the dead from me by force. They who have been kept here till they should live again upon earth, were taken away hence, not by their own power, but by prayers made to God, and their almighty God took them from me. Who then is that Jesus of Nazareth, that by his word hath taken away the dead from me without prayer to God? Perhaps it is the same who took away from me Lazarus, after he had been four days dead, and did both stink and was rotten, and of whom I had possession as a dead person, yet he brought him to life again by his power. Satan answering, replied to the prince of hell, It is the very same person,

Jesus Nazarenus. Hæc audiens princeps inferorum, dixit ad eum, Adjuro te per virtutes tuas et meas, ne perducas eum ad me. Ego enim tunc, quando audiui imperium verbi ejus, contremui timore perterritus, et omnia officia mea impia simul mecum conturbata sunt, nec ipsum Lazarum retinere potuimus; sed excutiens se, per omnem malignitatem et celeritatem salvus exivit a nobis; et ipsa terra, quæ tenebat Lazari corpus mortuum, statim reddidit vivum. Ego autem nunc scio, quod hæc ita potuit facere Deus omnipotens, qui potens est in imperio suo, et potens in humanitate, qui et Salvator est generis humani. Hunc ergo ne perduxeris ad me; omnes enim illos, quos hic detineo sub incredulitate carceris clausos, et vinculis peccatorum constrictos, solvet, et ad æternam vitam suæ divinitatis perducet.

will conduct them to everlasting life.

XXI. Et quum hæc ad invicem loquerentur Sathan et princeps inferorum, subito facta est vox ut tonitruum et

person, Jesus of Nazareth. Which when the prince of hell heard, he said to him, I adjure thee by the powers which belong to thee and me, that thou bring him not to me. For when I heard of the power of his word, I trembled for fear, and all my impious company were at the same disturbed; and we were not able to detain Lazarus, but he gave himself a shake, and with all the signs of malice, he immediately went away from us; and the very earth, in which the dead body of Lazarus was lodged, presently turned him out alive. And I know now that (he is) almighty God, (who) could perform such things, who is mighty in his dominion, and mighty in his human nature, who is the Saviour of mankind. Bring not therefore this person hither, for he will set at liberty all those whom I hold in prison under unbelief, and bound with the fetters of their sins, and*

XXI. And while Satan and the prince of hell were discoursing thus to each other, on a sudden there was a voice

* John xi.

spiritualis clamor, Tollite portas, principes, vestras; et elevamini, portæ æternales, et introibit Rex Gloriæ. Hæc autem quum audisset princeps Tartari, dixit ad Sathan, Recede a me, et exi de meis sedibus foras: si potens es præliator, pugna adversum Regem Gloriæ. Sed quid tibi cum isto? Et eiecit foras Sathan de sedibus suis. Et dixit princeps ad suos impios ministros, Claudite portas crudeles æreas, et vectes ferreos supponite, et fortiter resistite, ne captivi ducamur in captivitatem. Hæc autem audiens omnis multitudo sanctorum, cum magna voce increpationis dixerunt ad principem inferorum, Aperi portas tuas, ut intret Rex Gloriæ. Et exclamavit divinus ille propheta David, dicens, Nonne quum essem vivus in terris, bene vobis prædixi? Confi-teantur Domino misericordiæ ejus, et mirabilia ejus filiis hominum: quia contrivit portas æreas, et vectes ferreos confregit. Suscepit eos de via iniquitatis eorum; propter

as of thunder and the rushing of winds, (saying) ^a *Lift up your gates, O ye princes; and be ye lift up, O everlasting gates, and the King of Glory shall come in.* When the prince of hell heard this, he said to Satan, *Depart from me, and be gone out of my habitations: if thou art a powerful warrior, fight with the King of Glory. But what hast thou to do with him?* And he cast him forth from his habitations. And the prince said to his impious officers, *Shut the brass gates of cruelty, and make them fast with iron bars, and fight courageously, lest we be taken captives.* But when all the company of the saints heard this, they spake with a loud voice of anger to the prince of hell, *Open thy gates, that the King of Glory may come in.* And the divine prophet David, cried out, saying, ^b *Did not I, when on earth, truly prophesy (and say), O that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men!* For he hath broken the gates of brass, and cut the bars of iron in sunder. He hath taken them because of their iniquity, and because of their un-

^a Psalm xxiv. 7, &c.

^b Psalm cvii. 15, &c.

injustitias enim suas humiliati sunt. Et post hæc alius propheta (viz. S. Esaias) similiter ait ad omnes sanctos, Nonne quum essem in terris vivus, bene prædixi vobis, Exsurgent mortui, et resurgent qui in monumentis sunt, et exultabunt qui in terris sunt; quoniam ros, qui est a Domino, sanitas est illis. Et iterum dixi, Ubi est, mors, victoria tua? Ubi est, mors, stimulus tuus? Hæc autem audientes omnes sancti ab Esaiâ, dixerunt ad principem inferorum, Aperi nunc portas tuas, et vectes ferreos submove, quoniam jam victus eris, et nullius potentiae. Et facta est vox magna, tanquam sonus tonitruï, dicens, Attollite portas, principes, vestras; et elevamini, portæ infernales, et introibit Rex Gloriæ. Vicens autem princeps inferorum, quod duabus vicibus clamaverat, quasi ignorans, dicit, Quis est iste Rex Gloriæ? David vero respondens ad principem inferorum, dixit, Ista verba clamoris cognosco, quoniam ego eadem per spiritum ejus vaticinatus sum.

words of that voice, because I spake them by his spirit. And

righteousness they are afflicted. After this, another prophet^a (viz. holy Isaiah) spake in like manner to all the saints, *Did not I rightly prophesy to you, when I was alive on earth?* The dead men shall live, and they shall rise again who are in their graves, and they shall rejoice who are in earth; for the dew which is from the Lord, shall bring deliverance to them. *And I said in another place, O death, where is thy victory? O death, where is thy sting?* When all the saints heard these things spoken by Isaiah, they said to the prince of hell, ^b *Open now thy gates, and take away thine iron bars; for thou wilt now be bound, and have no power.* Then was there a great voice, as of the sound of thunder, saying, *Lift up your gates, O princes; and be ye lifted up, ye gates of hell, and the King of Glory will enter in.* The prince of hell perceiving the same voice repeated, cried out, as though he had been ignorant, *Who is that King of Glory?* David replied to the prince of hell, and said, *I understand the*

^a Isai. xxvi. 19.

^b Psal. xxiv. 7, &c.

Et nunc quæ supra dixi, dico tibi; Dominus fortis et potens, Dominus potens in prælio, ipse est Rex Gloriæ; et ipse Dominus in cælo et in terra prospexit, ut audiret gemitus compeditorum, et ut solveret filios interemptorum. Et nunc, spurcissime et foetidissime princeps inferi, aperi portas tuas, ut intret Rex Gloriæ; quia ipse Dominus est cæli et terræ. Hæc dicente David ad principem inferorum, supervenit in forma hominis Dominus Majestatis, et æternas tenebras illustravit, et indissolubilia vincula dirupit; et invincibili virtute visitavit sedentes in profundis tenebris delictorum, et in umbrâ mortis peccatorum.

sat in the deep darkness by iniquity, and the shadow of death by sin^b.

XXII. Hæc audiens mors impia cum crudelibus ministris suis, expaverunt in propriis regnis, agnita luminis claritate, dum Christum in suis repente sedibus viderunt constitutum; exclamaverunt, dicentes, Vincit jam su-

now, as I have above said, I say unto thee, The Lord is strong and powerful, the Lord is mighty in battle; he is the King of Glory, and he is the Lord in heaven and in earth; he hath looked down to hear the groans of the prisoners, and to set loose those that are appointed to death^a. And now, thou filthy and stinking prince of hell, open thy gates, that the King of Glory may enter in; for he is the Lord of heaven and earth. While David was saying this, the mighty Lord appeared in the form of a man, and enlightened those places which had ever before been in darkness, and broke asunder the fetters which, before could not be broken; and with his invincible power visited those who

XXII. Impious death and her cruel officers hearing these things, were seized with fear in their several kingdoms, when they saw the clearness of the light, and Christ himself on a sudden appearing in their habitations; they cried out therefore, and said, *We*

^a Psal. cii. 19; 20.

^b Luke i. 79.

mus a te ; ad Dominum dirigis confusionem nostram. Quis es tu, qui sine exitio corruptionis, incorruptum argumentum majestatis fulgores habes contemnens ? Quis es tu, tam potens et impotens, magnus et parvus, humilis et excelsus miles, qui imperare potest in forma servi, ut humilis præliator ? Et Rex Gloriæ mortuus et vivus, quem crux portavit occisum ? Qui mortuus jacuisti in sepulchro, vivus ad nos descendisti ? Et in tua morte contremuit omnis creatura, et universa sidera commota sunt ; et nunc factus es inter mortuos liber, et legiones nostras perturbas ? Quis es tu, qui illos, qui originali peccato adstricti detinentur, absolvis captivos, et in libertatem pristinam revocas ? Quis es tu, qui peccatorum tenebris excœcatos, divina, et splendida, et lucifera luce perfundis ? Similiter et omnes legiones dæmonum simili perterritæ pavore, pavidæ subjectione una voce clamaverunt, dicentes, Quomodo et unde tu, Jesu Christe, tam fortis homo, et splendidus in majestate ; tam præclarus sine

are bound by thee ; thou seemest to intend our confusion before the Lord. Who art thou, who hast no signs of corruption, but that bright appearance which is a full proof of thy greatness, of which yet thou seemest to take no notice ? Who art thou, so powerful and so weak, so great and so little, a mean, and yet a soldier of the first rank, who can command in the form of a servant as a common soldier ? The King of Glory, dead and alive, though once slain upon the cross ? Who layest dead in the grave, and art come down alive to us, and in thy death all the creatures trembled, and all the stars were moved, and now hast thy liberty among the dead, and givest disturbance to our legions ? Who art thou, who dost release the captives that were held in chains by original sin, and bringest them into their former liberty ? Who art thou, who dost spread so glorious and divine a light over those who were made blind by the darkness of sin ? In like manner all the legions of devils were seized with the like horror, and with the most submissive fear cried out, and said,

Whence comes it, O thou Jesus Christ, that thou art a man so powerful and glorious in majesty, so bright as to have no spot,

macula et mundus a crimine? Ille enim mundus terrenus, qui nobis subjectus fuit semper usque nunc, qui ^a in terris usibus tributa persolvebat, nunquam nobis talem mortuum hominem transmisit, nunquam talia munia principibus inferorum destinavit. Quis ergo es tu, qui sic intrepidus nostros fines ingressus es, et non solum nobis supplicia magna inferre non vereris, sed insuper de nostris vinculis omnes auferre conaris? Forsitan tu es ille Jesus, de quo nunc Sathan ad principem nostrum dicebat, quod per mortem tuam crucis totius mortis potestatem accepturus esses. Tunc Gloriæ Dominus conculcans mortem, et comprehendens principem inferorum, privavit omni sua potestate, et attraxit patrem nostrum terrenum ad suam claritatem.

XXIII. Tunc principes Tartari suscipientes Sathan, cum nimia increpatione dixerunt ad eum, O princeps perditionis, et dux exterminationis Beelzebub, derisio angelorum Dei, spurcitia iustorum, quid hic facere voluisti? Regem Gloriæ crucifi-

spot, and so pure as to have no crime? For that lower world of earth, which was ever till now subject to us, and from whence we received tribute, never sent us such a dead man before, never sent such presents as these to the princes of hell. Who therefore art thou, who with such courage entereest among our abodes, and art not only not afraid to threaten us with the greatest punishments, but also endeavourest to rescue all others from the chains in which we hold them? Perhaps thou art that Jesus, of whom Satan just now spake to our prince, that by the death of the cross thou wert about to receive the power of death. Then the King of Glory trampling upon death, seized the prince of hell, deprived him of all his power, and took our earthly father Adam with him to his glory.

XXIII. Then the prince of Hell took Satan, and with great indignation said to him, *O thou prince of destruction, author of Beelzebub's defeat and banishment, the scorn of God's angels, and loathed by all righteous persons! What inclined thee to act thus? Thou wouldst crucify the King*

^a [al. *integris*, vel *in tetrīs*.]

gere voluisti, in cujus exitio nobis tanta spolia promissisti, ignorans ut insipiens quid egeris? Ecce enim, jam iste Jesus Nazarenus gloriosæ suæ divinitatis fulgore fugat omnes horribiles tenebras mortis, ima carcerum et summa confregit, et cunctos ejecit captivos, et universos victos solvit, et omnes qui præ tormentis gravibus suspirare et gemere solebant, insultabant nobis, et deprecationibus eorum expugnatur. Impia regna nostra vincuntur, et nullum jam genus hominum nobis relinquitur; imo potius et nobis fortiter comminantur, quod nobis nunquam superbi fuerint mortui, nec aliquando potuerunt læti esse captivi.

the dead never durst behave themselves insolently towards us, nor, being prisoners, could ever on any occasion be merry.

O princeps Sathan, omnium malorum, impiorum et refugarum pater, quid hic facere voluisti, quod a principio usque nunc fuerunt desperati salute et vita? modo nullus eorum personat gemitus, nec in alicujus eorum facie lachrymarum vestigium invenitur. O princeps Sathan, possessio infernorum, il-

of Glory, and by his destruction hast made us promises of very large advantages, but as a fool wert ignorant of what thou wast about. For behold now that Jesus of Nazareth, with the brightness of his glorious divinity, puts to flight all the horrid powers of darkness and death; he has broke down our prisons from top to bottom, dismissed all the captives, released all who were bound, and all who were wont formerly to groan under the weight of their torments, have now insulted us, and we are like to be defeated by their prayers. Our impious dominions are subdued, and no part of mankind is now left (in our subjection), but on the other hand, they all boldly defy us; though before

O Satan, thou prince of all the wicked, father of the impious and abandoned, why wouldst thou attempt this exploit, seeing our prisoners were hitherto always without the least hopes of salvation and life? But now there is not one of them does ever groan, nor is there the least appearance of a tear in any of their faces. O prince Satan, thou great treasure of the infernal regions,

las tuas divitias, quas acquiseras per lignum prævaricationis, et Paradisi amissionem, et nunc per lignum crucis perdidisti, et periit omnis lætitia tua, dum istum Christum Jesum Regem Gloriæ suspensidisti. Adversum te et adversum me egisti; a modo cognosces, quanta tormenta et infinita supplicia passurus es. O princeps malorum omnium, Sathan, auctor mortis, et origo omnis superbix, debueras primum istius Jesu Nazareni causam malam inquirere, in quem nullam culpam mortis invenisti. Quare sine ratione injuste eum crucifigere ausus fuisti, et ad nostram regionem innocentem et justum perduxisti, et totius mundi noxios, impios, et injustos perdidisti? Et quum loqueretur princeps inferorum ad Sathan, tunc Rex Gloriæ dixit ad ipsum principem inferorum Beelzebub, Erit Sathan princeps sub potestate tua in perpetua secula, substitutus in locum Adæ, et filiorum ejus justorum meorum.

XXIV. Et extendens Jesus manum suam, dixit, Ve-

regions, all thy advantages which thou didst acquire by the forbidden tree, and the loss of Paradise, thou hast now lost by the wood of the cross; and thy happiness all then expired, when thou didst crucify Jesus Christ the King of Glory. Thou hast acted against thine own interest and mine, as thou wilt presently perceive by those large torments and infinite punishments which thou art about to suffer. O Satan, prince of all evil, author of death, and source of all pride, thou shouldst first have enquired into the evil crimes of Jesus of Nazareth, and then thou wouldst have found that he was guilty of no fault worthy of death. Why didst thou venture, without either reason or justice, to crucify him, and hast brought down to our regions a person innocent and righteous, and thereby hast lost all the sinners, impious and unrighteous persons in the whole world? While the prince of hell was (thus) speaking to Satan, the King of Glory said to Beelzebub, the prince of hell, Satan the

prince shall be subject to thy dominion for ever, in the room of Adam and his righteous sons, who are mine.

XXIV. Then Jesus stretched forth his hand, and said,
Come

nite ad me, sancti mei omnes, qui creati estis ad imaginem meam, qui per lignum, et diabolum, et mortem damnati estis; modo vivite per lignum crucis meæ, diabolo mundi, principe damnato, et morte prostrata. Tunc statim omnes sancti Dei sub manu altissimi Dei adunati sunt. Tenens autem Dominus Jesus manum Adæ, dixit ad eum, Pax tibi cum omnibus filiis tuis justis meis. Adam vero genibus Domini Jesu Christi advolutus, lachrymabiliter deprecatus est eum, obsecratione humili cum voce magna, dicens, Exaltabor te, Domine, quoniam suscepisti me, nec delectasti inimicos meos super me. Domine Deus, clamavi ad te, et sanasti me. Domine, eduxisti ab inferis animam meam, salvasti me a descendentibus in lacum. Psallite Domino, omnes sancti ejus, et confitemini memorie sanctitatis ejus. Quoniam ira in indignatione ejus, et vita in voluntate ejus. Similiter et omnes sancti Dei genibus

Come to me, all ye my saints, who were created in my image, who were condemned by the tree (of the forbidden fruit), and by the devil and death; live now by the wood of my cross; the devil, the prince of this world, is overcome, and death is conquered. Then presently all the saints were joined together under the hand of the most high God; and the Lord Jesus laid hold on Adam's hand, and said to him, Peace be to thee, and all thy righteous posterity, which is mine. Then Adam, casting himself at the feet of Jesus, addressed himself to him with tears, in humble language, and a loud voice, saying, I will extol thee, O Lord, for thou hast lifted me up, and hast not made my foes to rejoice over me. O Lord my God, I cried unto thee, and thou hast healed me. O Lord, thou hast brought up my soul from the grave; thou hast kept me alive, that I should not go down to the pit. Sing unto the Lord, all ye saints of his, and give thanks at the remembrance of his holiness. For*

his anger endureth but for a moment; in his favour is life. In like manner all the saints, prostrate at the feet of Jesus,

* Psal. xxx. 1, &c.

Domini Jesu advoluti, una voce dixerunt, Advenisti, Redemptor mundi, sicut per legem et prophetas tuos sanctos prædixisti, jam factis adimplesti. Redemisti vivos per crucem tuam, et per mortem crucis ad nos descendisti, ut eriperes nos ab inferis et morte per majestatem tuam. Domine, sicut posuisti titulum gloriæ tuæ in coelo, et erexisti titulum redemptionis crucem tuam in terris: ita pone, Domine, signum in inferno victoriæ crucis tuæ, ne mors dominetur amplius. Et extendens Dominus Jesus manum suam, fecit signum crucis super Adam, et super omnes sanctos suos, et apprehendens dextram Adæ, ascendit ab inferis, et omnes sancti Dei secuti sunt eum. Tunc Propheta ille regius, sanctus David, fortiter clamavit, dicens, Cantate Domino canticum novum, quia mirabilia fecit. Salvavit sibi dextra ejus, et brachium sanctum ejus. Notum fecit Dominus salutare suum, in conspectu gentium revelavit justitiam suam. Et omnis multitudo

shewn in the sight of the heathen. And the whole multitude

said with one voice, *Thou art come, O Redeemer of the world, and hast actually accomplished all things, which thou didst foretell by the law and thy holy prophets. Thou hast redeemed the living by thy cross, and art come down to us, that by the death of the cross thou mightest deliver us from hell, and by thy power from death. O Lord, as thou hast put the ensigns of thy glory in heaven, and hast set up the sign of thy redemption, even thy cross on earth; so, Lord, set the sign of the victory of thy cross in hell, that death may have dominion no longer.* Then the Lord stretching forth his hand, made the sign of the cross upon Adam and upon all his saints, and taking hold of Adam by his right hand, he ascended from hell, and all the saints of God followed him. Then the royal Prophet David boldly cried out, and said, *O sing unto the Lord a new song, for he hath done marvellous things; his right hand and his holy arm have gotten him the victory. The Lord hath made known his salvation, his righteousness hath he openly*

* Psal. xcvi. 1, &c.

sanctorum responderunt, dicentes, Hæc est omnis gloria omnibus sanctis Dei, Amen, Halleluia. Et post hæc exclamavit Habacuc Propheta, dicens, Existi in salutem populi tui ad liberandum populos tuos. Et responderunt omnes sancti, dicentes, Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini, Deus Dominus et illuxit nobis. Hic est Deus noster in æternum et in seculum seculi, ipse reget nos in secula, Amen. Sic et omnes prophetæ de suis laudibus sacra referentes, sequebantur Dominum.

XXV. Dominus autem tenens manum Adæ, tradidit Michaeli archangelo, et omnes sancti sequebantur Michaelem archangelum, et introduxit in Paradiso gratia gloriosa; et occurrerunt eis obviam duo viri vetusti dierum; interrogati autem a sanctis, Qui estis vos, qui nobiscum apud inferos nondum fuistis, et in Paradiso corpore collati estis? Respondens unus ex eis, dixit, Ego sum Enoch, qui verbo translatus sum; hic iste qui mecum est, Helias The-

of saints answered, saying, *^a This honour have all his saints, Amen, Praise ye the Lord.* Afterwards, the Prophet Habbakuk ^b cried out, and said, *Thou wentest forth for the salvation of thy people, even for the salvation of thy people.* And all the saints said, *^c Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord; for the Lord hath enlightened us. This is our God for ever and ever; he shall reign over us to everlasting ages, Amen.* In like manner all the Prophets spake the sacred things of his praise, and followed the Lord.

XXV. Then the Lord holding Adam by the hand, delivered him to Michael the archangel; and he led them into Paradise (filled) with mercy and glory; and two very antient men met them, and were asked by the saints, *Who are ye, who have not yet been with us in hell, and have had your bodies placed in Paradise?* One of them answering, said, *I am Enoch, who was translated by the word (of God); ^d and this man who is with me, is Elijah the Thishbite,*

^a Psal. cxlix. 9.

^b Hab. iii. 13.

^c Matt. xxiii. 39.

^d Gen. v. 24.

bites est, qui curru igneo assumptus est. Hic et usque nunc non gustavimus mortem, sed in adventum Antichristi reversuri sumus, divinis signis et prodigiis præcincti, ad præliandum cum eo, et ab eo occidi in Jerusalem, et post triduum et dimidium dierum iterum vivi in nubi-
bus assumendi.

who was translated in a fiery chariot^a. Here we have hitherto been, and have not tasted death, but are now about to return at the coming of Antichrist, being armed with divine signs and miracles, to engage with him in battle, and to be slain by him in Jerusalem, and to be taken up alive again into the clouds, after three days and a half^b.

XXVI. Et quum hæc loquerentur sanctus Enoch et Helias, ecce supervenit alius vir miserrimus, portans humeris suis signum crucis. Et quum viderunt omnes sancti, dixerunt ad eum, Quis es tu? quia visio tua latronis est; et propter quod portas crucem humeris? Quibus respondens, ait, Vere dixistis, quia latro fui, omnia mala faciens super terram; et Judæi crucifixerunt me cum Jesu; et vidi creaturarum mirabilia, quæ facta sunt per crucem Domini Jesu crucifixi, et credidi eum esse Creatorem omnium creaturarum, et Regem Omnipotentem; et deprecatus sum eum, dicens, Memor
things; and the Almighty King;

XXVI. And while the holy Enoch and Elias were relating this, behold there came another man in a miserable figure, carrying the sign of the cross upon his shoulders. And when all the saints saw him, they said to him, *Who art thou? For thy countenance is like a thief's; and why dost thou carry a cross upon thy shoulders?* To which he answering, said, *Ye say right, for I was a thief, who committed all sorts of wickedness upon earth. And the Jews crucified me with Jesus; and I observed the surprising things which happened in the creation at the crucifixion of the Lord Jesus, and I believed him to be the Creator of all*
things; and the Almighty King; and I prayed to him, saying,

^a 2 Kings ii. 11.

^b Rev. xi. 11.

esto mei, Domine, dum veneris in regnum tuum. Statim suscipiens deprecationem meam, dixit ad me, Amen dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in Paradiso. Et dedit mihi signum istud crucis, dicens, Hoc porta, et ambula in Paradiso; et si non dimiserit te ingredi angelus custos Paradisi, ostende illi signum crucis, et dices ad eum, quia Jesus Christus filius Dei, qui nunc crucifixus est, misit me huc ad te. Quum hoc fecissem, dixi ad angelum custodem Paradisi hæc omnia; qui quum hæc a me audivit, statim aperiens introduxit me, et collocavit me ad dextram Paradisi, dicens, Ecce, modicum sustine te hic, ut ingrediatur omnis generis humani pater Adam, cum omnibus filiis suis sanctis et justis Christi Domini crucifixi. Quum audissent omnia verba latronis, omnes patriarchæ una voce dixerunt, Benedictus es, Deus Omnipotens, Pater æternorum bonorum et Pater misericordiarum, qui talem gratiam peccatoribus ejus dedisti, et in gratiam Paradisi

Lord, remember me, when thou comest into thy kingdom. *He presently regarded my supplication, and said to me, Verily I say unto thee, this day thou shalt be with me in Paradise^a. And he gave me this sign of the cross, saying, Carry this, and go to Paradise; and if the angel who is the guard of Paradise will not admit thee, shew him the sign of the cross, and say unto him: Jesus Christ, who is now crucified, hath sent me hither to thee. When I did this, (and) told the angel who is the guard of Paradise all these things, and he heard them, he presently opened the gates, introduced me, and placed me on the right hand in Paradise, saying, Stay here a little time, till Adam, the father of all mankind, shall enter in, with all his sons, who are the holy and righteous (servants) of Jesus Christ, who is crucified.* When they heard all this account from the thief, all the Patriarchs said with one voice, *Blessed be thou, O Almighty God, the Father of everlasting goodness,*

and the Father of mercies, who hast shewn such favour to those who were sinners against him, and hast brought them to the

^a Luke xxiii. 43.

reduxisti, et in tua spiritualia
et pingua pascua spirituali
vita sanctissima collocasti.
Amen.

*mercy of Paradise, and hast
placed them amidst thy large
and spiritual provisions, in a
spiritual and holy life. Amen.*

XXVII. Hæc sunt divina
et sacra mysteria, quæ vidi-
mus et audivimus. Ego Cha-
rinus et Lenthius amplius
non sumus permissi enarrare
cætera mysteria Dei, sicut
contestans Michael archan-
gelus dixit nobis, Euntes
cum fratribus meis in Jeru-
salem, eritis in orationibus
clamantes, et glorificantes
resurrectionem Domini' Jesu
Christi, quos a mortuis resus-
citavit secum. Et cum ne-
mine hominum eritis loquen-
tes, et sedebitis ut muti, do-
nec veniat hora, ut permittat
vobis ipse Dominus referre
suar divinitatis mysteria. Nos
autem jussit Michael archan-
gelus ambulare trans Jorda-
nem, in locum optimum et
pinguem, ubi sunt multi qui
nobiscum resurrexerunt in
testimonium resurrectionis
Christi; quia tantum tres di-
es permissi sumus a mortuis,
qui surreximus celebrare in
Jerusalem pascha Domini cum
parentibus nostris in testimo-
nium Christi Domini, et bap-

XXVII. These are the
divine and sacred mysteries
which we saw and heard. I
Charinus and Lenthius are
not allowed to declare the o-
ther mysteries of God, as the
archangel Michael ordered
us, saying, *Ye shall go with
my brethren to Jerusalem, and
shall continue in prayers, de-
claring and glorifying the re-
surrection of Jesus Christ, see-
ing he hath raised you from
the dead (at the same time)
with himself. And ye shall not
talk with any man, but sit as
dumb persons, till the time come
when the Lord will allow you
to relate the mysteries of his
divinity.* The archangel Mi-
chael (farther) commanded us
to go beyond Jordan, to an
excellent and fat country,
where there are many who
rose from the dead along with
us for the proof of the resur-
rection of Christ. *For we
have only three days allowed
us from the dead, who arose to
celebrate the passover of our
Lord with our parents, and to
bear our testimony for Christ
the Lord, and we have been
baptized*

tizati sumus in sancto Jordani flumine. Et jam a nemine visi sunt. Hæc sunt quanta nobis jussit Deus referre vobis; et date illi laudem et confessionem, et poenitentiam agite, et miserebitur vestri. Pax vobis a Domino Deo Jesu Christo; et Salvatore omnium nostrorum, Amen, Amen, Amen. Et postquam compleverunt omnia scribentes, singulos tomos chartæ scripserunt. Charinus autem, quod scripsit, dedit in manibus Annæ, et Caiphæ, et Gamalielis. Similiter et Lenthius, quod scripsit, dedit in manibus Nicodemi et Joseph; et subito transfigurati sunt candidati nimis, et non sunt amplius visi. Scripta autem illorum inventa sunt æqualia, nihil minus aut majus habentia litera una. Ista omnia admiranda Charini et Lenthii dicta audiens omnis synagoga Judæorum, ad invicem dixerunt, Vere ista omnia a Deo facta sunt, et benedictus Dominus Jesus in secula seculorum, Amen. Et exierunt omnes cum magna sollicitudine, cum timore et tremore; et percutierunt pectora sua, et abierunt unuf-

baptized in the holy river of Jordan. And now they are not seen by any one. This is as much as God allowed us to relate to you; give ye therefore praise and honour to him, and repent, and he will have mercy upon you. Peace be to you from the Lord God Jesus Christ, and the Saviour of us all. Amen, Amen, Amen. And after they had made an end of writing, and had wrote in (two) distinct pieces of paper, Charinus gave what he wrote into the hands of Annas, and Caiaphas, and Gamaliel. Lenthius likewise gave what he wrote into the hands of Nicodemus and Joseph; and immediately they were changed into exceeding white forms, and were seen no more. But what they had wrote was found perfectly to agree, the one not containing one letter more or less than the other. When all the assembly of the Jews heard all these surprising relations of Charinus and Lenthius, they said to each other, Truly all these things were wrought by God, and blessed be the Lord Jesus for ever and ever, Amen. And they went all out with great concern, and fear, and trem-

bling, and smote upon their breasts, and went away every one

quisque in propria sua. Hæc omnia quæ dicta sunt de Jesu a Judæis in synagoga eorum, statim Joseph et Nicodemus annuntiaverunt præfidi; et Pilatus scripsit omnia gesta, et ea quæ dicta sunt de Jesu a Judæis, et posuit omnia verba in codicibus prætorii sui publicis.

to his home. But immediately all these things which were related by the Jews in their synagogue concerning Jesus, were presently told by Joseph and Nicodemus to the governor, and Pilate wrote down all these transactions, and placed all these accounts in the publick records of his hall.

XXVIII. Post hæc ingressus Pilatus templum Judæorum, congregavit omnes Principes et Scribas, et legis Doctores, et ingressus est cum eis in sacrarium Templi, et iussit ut omnes januæ clauderentur, et dixit eis, Audium habemus, quod quandam magnam bibliothecam habetis in Templo isto; propter hoc rogo vos, ut ante nos præsentetur. Et quum deportassent illam bibliothecam magnam a quatuor ministris, auro et gemmis pretiosis ornatam, dixit Pilatus ad omnes, Adjuro vos per Deum patrem vestrum, qui fecit ac iussit Templum istud ædificari, ne verum mihi taceatis. Vos nostis omnia quæ scripta sunt in ista bibliotheca; sed nunc dicitote, si vos in scripturis

XXVIII. After these things Pilate went to the Temple of the Jews, and called together all the Rulers and Scribes, and Doctors of the law, and went with them into a chapel of the Temple, and commanding that all the gates should be shut, said to them, *I have heard that ye have a certain large book in this Temple; I desire you, therefore, that it may be brought before me.* And when the great book, carried by four ministers (of the Temple,) and adorned with gold and precious stones, was brought, Pilate said to them all, *I adjure you by the God of your fathers, who made and commanded this Temple to be built, that ye conceal not the truth from me. Ye know all the things which are written in that*
any

book; tell me therefore now, if ye in the Scriptures have found

invenistis istum Jesum, quem crucifixistis, esse Filium Dei venturum pro salute generis humani; et in quantis annis temporum debuisset venire, manifestate mihi. Ita conjurati Annas et Caiphas, jusserunt exire de sacrario cæteros omnes qui cum ipsis erant, et ipsi clauferunt omnes januas Templi et sacrarii, et dixerunt ad Pilatum, Conjurati sumus a te, judex, per ædificationem Templi istius, veritatem et rationem manifestam tibi facere. Postquam crucifiximus Jesum, ignorantes Dei Filium esse, putantes per aliquod carmen facere eum virtutes, fecimus synagogam magnam ad Templum istud. Et conferentes ad invicem signa virtutum quæ fecerat Jesus, multos ex genere nostro testes invenimus, qui dixerunt post passionem mortis vivum se vidisse, loquentem cum discipulis audivisse, et altitudinem cœli penetrantem vidisse; et duos testes, quorum corpora Jesus secum a mortuis resuscitavit, vidimus; qui multa mirabilia quæ fecit Jesus in mortuis, annuntiaverunt nobis, quæ in manibus nostris scripta habe-

any thing of that Jesus whom ye crucified, and at what time of the world he ought to have come, shew it me. Then having sworn Annas and Caiphas, they commanded all the rest who were with them to go out of the chapel, and they shut the gates of the Temple and of the chapel, and said to Pilate, Thou hast made us to swear, O judge, by the building of this Temple, to declare to thee that which is true and right. After we had crucified Jesus, not knowing that he was the son of God, but supposing he wrought his miracles by some magical arts, we summoned a large assembly in this Temple; and when we were deliberating among one another about the miracles which Jesus had wrought, we found many witnesses of our own country, who declared that they had seen him alive after his death, and that they heard him discoursing with his disciples, and saw him ascending unto the height of the heavens, and entering into them; and we saw two witnesses, whose bodies Jesus raised from the dead, who told us of many strange things which Jesus did among the dead, of which we have a written account in our hands.

mus. Nostraque consuetudo est, quod omni anno, ante nostram synagogam aperientes istam sanctam bibliothecam, testimonium Dei exquirimus; et invenimus in primo libro de septuaginta, ubi loquutus est Michael archangelus ad tertium filium Adæ primi hominis, de quinque millibus et quingentis annis, in quibus venturus esset de cœlis dilectissimus Dei Filius, Christus; et adhuc consideravimus, quia forsitan iste est Deus Israel, qui dixit ad Moysen, Fac tibi arcam testamenti in longitudinem cubitorum duorum et semis, in altitudinem cubiti unius et semis, in latitudinem cubiti unius et semis. In his quinque cubitis et semis intelleximus et cognovimus in fabrica arcæ Veteris Testamenti, quia in quinque millibus annorum et semis venturus esset Jesus Christus in arca corporis; et sic Scripturæ nostræ testantur ipsum Dei filium esse, et Dominum et Regem Israel. Quia post passionem ejus nos principes sacerdotum admirantes signa, quæ propter eum fiebant, a-

hands. And it is our custom annually to open this holy book before an assembly, and to search there for the counsel of God; and we found in the first of the seventy (books), where Michael the archangel is speaking to the third son of Adam the first man, an account that after five thousand five hundred years, Christ the most beloved Son of God was to come on earth; and we farther considered, that perhaps he was the very God of Israel who spake to Moses, Thou shalt make the ark of the testimony, two cubits and a half shall be the length thereof, and a cubit and a half the breadth thereof, and a cubit and a half the height thereof*. By these five cubits and a half for the building of the ark of the Old Testament, we perceived and knew that in five thousand years and half (one thousand) years, Jesus Christ was to come in the ark (or tabernacle) of a body; and so our Scriptures testify that he is the Son of God, and the Lord and King of Israel. And because after his suffering, our chief Priests were surprized at the signs which were wrought by

* Exod. xxv. 10.

peruimus bibliothecam istam, exquirentes omnes generationes usque ad generationem Joseph et Mariæ matris Jesu, computantes ex semine David esse; invenimus ea quæ fecit Dominus, et quando fecit cœlum et terram, et primum hominem Adam usque ad diluvium, anni duo millia ducenti et duodecim. Et a diluvio usque ad Abraham anni nongenti duodecim. Et ab Abraham usque ad Moysen anni quadringenti triginta. Et de Moysen usque ad David regem anni quingenti decem. Et a David usque ad transmigrationem Babylonis anni quingenti. Et de transmigratione Babylonis usque ad incarnationem Christi anni quadringenti. Et fiunt simul quinque millia et semis. Et sic apparet quod Jesus, quem crucifiximus, Jesus Christus Dei Filius est, verus et omnipotens Deus. Amen.

his means, we opened that book to search all the generations down to the generation of Joseph and Mary the mother of Jesus, supposing him to be of the seed of David; and we found the account of the creation, and at what time he made the heaven and the earth, and the first man Adam, and that from thence to the flood, were two thousand, two hundred, and twelve years. And from the flood to Abraham, nine hundred and twelve. And from Abraham to Moses, four hundred and thirty. And from Moses to David the King, five hundred and ten. And from David to the Babylonish captivity, five hundred years. And from the Babylonish captivity to the incarnation of Christ, four hundred years. The sum of all which amounts to five thousand and half (a thousand). And so it appears, that Jesus, whom we crucified, is Jesus Christ the Son of God, and true and Almighty God. Amen.

IN NOMINE SANCTÆ TRINITATIS, EXPLICIUNT GESTA PER SALVATOREM JESUM CHRISTUM, QUÆ INVENIT THEODOSIUS MAGNUS IMPERATOR IN JERUSALEM, IN

IN THE NAME OF THE HOLY TRINITY, (thus) END THE ACTS OF OUR SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, WHICH THE EMPEROR THEODOSIUS THE GREAT FOUND AT JERUSALEM,

PRÆTORIO PONTII PILATI IN CODICIBUS PUBLICIS, FACTA IN ANNO DECIMO NONO IMPERATORIS TIBERII CÆSARIS ROMANORUM, ET HERODIS FILII HERODIS REGIS GALILÆÆ, ANNO DECIMO SEPTIMO PRINCIPATUS EJUS, VIII. CALENDAS APRILIS, QUOD EST XXIII. DIE MENSIS MARTII, CONSULTATORIÆ REVELATIONIS, IN ANNO CCII. OLYMPIADIS, SUB PRINCIPATU JUDÆORUM JOSEPHI ET CAIPHÆ, QUANTA POST CRUCEM ET PASSIONEM DOMINI HISTORIATUS EST NICODEMUS LITERIS HEBRAICIS.

OF WHAT HAPPENED AFTER OUR SAVIOUR'S CRUCIFIXION.

IN THE HALL OF PONTIUS PILATE AMONG THE PUBLIC RECORDS; THE THINGS WERE ACTED IN THE NINETEENTH YEAR OF TIBERIUS CÆSAR EMPEROR OF THE ROMANS, AND IN THE SEVENTEENTH YEAR OF THE GOVERNMENT OF HEROD THE SON OF HEROD KING OF GALILEE, ON THE EIGHTH OF THE CALENDAS OF APRIL, WHICH IS THE TWENTY THIRD DAY OF THE MONTH OF MARCH*, IN THE CCII^d OLYMPIAD, WHEN JOSEPH AND CAIAPHAS WERE RULERS OF THE JEWS; BEING A HISTORY WRITTEN IN HEBREW BY NICODEMUS,

* I have not put any thing in the English for the words *Consultatoriæ Revelationis*, because I confess I do not know what they mean.

C H A P. XXIX.

The Gospel of Nicodemus, formerly called The Acts of Pontius Pilate; and why it was so. Some Accounts of Christ sent by Pilate to Tiberius. Justin Martyr and Tertullian several Times appeal to the Acts of Pilate: they are mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome: it does not appear that any Christian Writer ever saw them.

ALTHOUGH I know not any who have esteemed this Gospel under the name of *Nicodemus* as Canonical, yet inasmuch as it has been appealed to by several of the antient Christians (as is commonly thought), is unquestionably of very great antiquity, passes under the splendid title of one who became our Lord's disciple, and conversed with him; and lastly, because it has not only generally been reckoned by the learned among the *Apocrypha* of the *New Testament*, but by some also supposed to be really written by *Nicodemus*^a; I thought proper to insert it in this volume, with all that I have observed considerable relating to it, under the following heads.

I. The Gospel of *Nicodemus* formerly passed under the title of *The Acts of Pontius Pilate*. In the book itself we read (Ch. XXVII.), that *Pilate* was its author, and that he wrote down all the transactions of *Jesus Christ* among the *Jews*, and placed his book among other publick writings in his palace. Accordingly in the end of it (or, as it is placed in some editions, in the beginning of it^b) we are told that *Theodosius the Great* (Emperor in the year 380, &c.) found it in *Jerusalem* in the palace of *Pontius Pilate*. Besides, what farther proves this is what *Epiphanius*^c tells us, viz. that the *Tessarescaidecatites* (who were so called, because they thought themselves always obliged to keep Easter on the fourteenth day) confirmed their opinion by the *Acts of Pilate*, because it was there written

^a See *Grynæus* Præfat. in *Orthodoxographia*.

^b Viz. the Anglo-Saxon and the

German translations. Vid. *Fabr. Cod. Apoc. t. 1. p. 297 et 235.*

^c *Hæres. 50. §. 1.*

that

that our Saviour suffered on the eighth day of the calends of April. And the author of the eighth Homily, under the name of Chrysoſtom ^a, cites these Acts of Pilate for the same purpose. Now this is expressly recorded in the Gospel of Nicodemus at the end; but it being a matter agreed on by all, that this Gospel was formerly called *The Acts of Pilate*, I shall now say no more on this head, but only observe, that the reasons of its having the name of Nicodemus prefixed, seem to have been,

1. Because a considerable part of the history relates to him, and was transacted by him. See Ch. V, IX, XI, XII, XV, and XVII.

2. Because all that revelation of Charinus and Lenthius from the other world, contained from Ch. XVII. to XXVIII. was delivered by them to Nicodemus, and afterwards by him to Pilate, who committed it to writing. (See Ch. XXVII.)

When this Gospel had the name of Nicodemus first prefixed to it, is altogether uncertain. Some writers have asserted, that it is among those condemned by Gelasius's Decree, which Mr. Fabritius ^b on good grounds concludes to be a mistake; and in another place (though I know not upon what grounds) he tells us ^c, that it was a name given it in the latter centuries by the Anglo-Saxons and Britons; the Apostle of which country they report Nicodemus to have been.

II. It is very probable there were some accounts of Christ and his actions transmitted by Pilate to the Emperor Tiberius. It was a thing very customary among the Romans, long before this time, that the governors of the respective provinces in subjection to them, should transmit to Rome a particular account of every thing which happened, uncommon or extraordinary, in their several governments. This Eusebius expressly tells us ^d, and it were easy to prove by many instances; to omit all which, I shall only observe, that Philo Judæus (who

^a See this in Bishop Pearson's Exposition of the Creed, Art. 4.

^b 198.

^c Cod. Apoc. N. T. Par. 1. p.

222, 223, et 233.

^d Ibid.

^e Histor. Eccl. l. 2. c. 2.

wrote about the time of Christ) speaking of the flattering compliments Caligula received from the Egyptians, says, he received them ταῖς ὑπομνηματικαῖς ἡμερησίαις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας διημέροτο, ex quotidianis actis transmissis sibi ab Alexandria (as Gelenius translates it), *from the daily memoirs (or acts) which were transmitted to him from Alexandria*^a. It had been very strange therefore, if Pilate had neglected to inform the Emperor and court of events and actions, so remarkable as those were which related to Jesus Christ. But to say no more of this; the first and most antient apologist for the Christian religion, Justin Martyr, in his *Address to the Roman Emperor Antoninus Pius*, does more than once appeal to the *Acts of Pontius Pilate* for the truth of our Saviour's miracles and sufferings, καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι γέγονε δύνασθε μαθεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίῳ Πιλάτῳ γενομένων αὐτῶν, and of the truth of these facts you may be informed out of the *Acts* which were written by Pontius Pilate (or, under his government). Apol. pro Christ. p. 76. and elsewhere, p. 84. he refers to the same for the proof of our Saviour's curing all sorts of diseases, raising the dead, &c. Tertullian likewise, in his *Apology for Christianity against the Heathens*^b, twice appeals to the records which were transmitted from Jerusalem to Tiberius concerning Christ; and as in one place he expressly names those which were transmitted by Pilate, so in the other there can be no doubt but he refers to the same, as is well intimated in the Paraphrase of Eusebius^c, and by Franciscus Zephyrus on the place, and Pamelius in his notes: his words being somewhat remarkable in both places, I thought proper here to transcribe them^d. *Tiberius, in whose time the Christian name became first known in the world, having received information from Palestine in Syria (by his governor there), that Jesus Christ had there given manifest proof of the truth of his divinity, communicated it to the Senate, insisting upon it as his*

^a Legat. ad Caium, p. 1016.

^b Apol. adv. Gent. c. v. et 21.

^c Hist. Eccl. l. 2. c. 2.

^d Tiberius ergo, cujus tempore nomen Christianum in seculum introiit, annunciatum sibi ex Syria Palæstina, quod illic veritatem illius

divinitatis revelaverat, detulit ad Senatum cum prærogativa sui suffragii. Senatus, quia non in se probaverat, respuit. Cæsar in sententia mansit, comminatus periculum accusatoribus Christianorum, c. 5.

prerogative, that they should assent to his opinion in that matter (viz. declare him to be a God). But the Senate not approving it, refused. Cæsar continued in the same opinion, threatening those who were accusers of the Christians. In the other place, after having given an account of the miracles of Christ, his casting out devils, cleansing lepers, raising the dead, his crucifixion, resurrection, ascension, &c. he adds ^a, *All these things Pilate himself (who was in his conscience for following Christ) transmitted to Tiberius Cæsar; and even the Cæsars themselves had been Christians, if it had been consistent with their secular interests, &c.* This account of Tertullian is cited by Eusebius, both in his Chronicon ^b and in his Ecclesiastical History ^c, as genuine and authentick; as it is also by Jerome ^d, though he mentions neither the name of Tertullian nor Eusebius. Now from all this I argue, that *there were some accounts of Christ and his actions transmitted by Pilate to the Emperor.* “Tertullian (says Dr. Parker ^e) though a Christian writer, durst never have presumed to impose upon the Senate themselves with such a remarkable story, if he were not able to prove it; and that he was, is evident from Justin Martyr, who often appeals to the Acts of Pilate concerning the history of our Saviour, and requests the Emperor to satisfy themselves from their own records concerning those things that were reported of him.—That Pilate did send such Acts, is evident; for scarce any man, much less such a man as Justin Martyr, could have been so foolish, or so confident, as to affirm a thing in which it was so very easy to convict him of falsehood, &c.” Dr. Jenkin, in his excellent book Of the Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion, reasons after the same manner ^f, “That it had not been

^a Ea omnia super Christo Pilatus et ipse, jam pro sua conscientia Christianus, Cæsari tum Tiberio nunciavit; sed et Cæsares credidissent super Christo, si aut Cæsares non essent seculo necessarii, aut si et Christiani potuissent esse Cæsares. c. 21.

^b Ad Ann. Christi xxxviii. fol. 84.

^c Hist. Eccl., l. 2. c. 2.

^d Apud Cleric. Hist. Eccles. Secul. I. ad Ann. xxix. §. 98. p. 326.

^e Demonstr. of the Divine Authority of the Christ. Relig. Part II. §. 15. p. 231, &c.

^f I believe he mentions them but twice.

^g Vol. I. Par. II. ch. 14. p. 272, 273.

"safe for Pilate to send no information to the Emperor concerning Christ—That he did send, and his information was entered upon record at Rome: to which Justin Martyr appeals in his *Apology to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, and the Senate*; and Tertullian in his *Apology*, which was likewise presented to the Senate of Rome, or at least to the governors of the provinces. They both lived in the next age, and were both educated in a different religion, and upon these and such like proofs became Christians: they were men of excellent learning and judgment; but no man who could write an *Apology*, can be supposed to have so much confidence, and so little understanding, as to appeal to that account which Pilate sent to Tiberius, concerning the resurrection of Christ, in *Apologies dedicated to the Roman Emperor himself, and to the Senate, or chief magistrates of the empire*, if no such account had ever been sent, or none had been then extant to be produced. But by the special providence of God, both the birth and resurrection of our Saviour were inserted into the publick records at Rome, and were to be seen there for a long time after; and the Heathens, in whose custody they were, are desired by the primitive Christians to consult them; for they were content to put the matter upon this issue, that if they were resolved not to believe what the Christians said, yet they would at least credit their own records." After the same manner before these argued Grotius^a, Huetius^b, Waltherus^c, Bishop Pearson^d, and other modern apologists for the Christian religion. To which I may add, that the criticks and historians also have generally assented to the fact; as Casaubon^e, Pamelius^f, Valesius^g, Frederick Spanheim^h, Fabriciusⁱ, &c. And it has not been questioned by any, as far as I know, except Tana-

^a De Verit. Relig. Christian. l.

2. §. 2.

^b Demonstrat. Evangel. Prop.

III. §. 22, 23. p. 43, 44.

^c Officin. Biblic. §. 1068. p.

1054.

^d On the Creed, Art. IV. p. 198.^e Ad Baron. Annal. Exercit. 16.

ann. 34. n. 221.

^f Annot. in Apolog. Tertull.

c. 5.

^g Annot. in Euseb. Hist. Eccl.

l. 2. c. 2.

^h Hist. Christ. Secul. I. p. 560,

561. et p. 582.

ⁱ Cod. Apoc. N. T. loc. supra

cit. See also Eachard's Ecclesi.

Histor. Vol. I. b. 2. c. 1. §. 4.

and Tallent's Chron. Tables.

quillus Faber ^a and Le Clerc ^b, and that upon very flight reasons. I conclude it therefore as probable, that Pilate sent some acts or memoirs concerning Jesus Christ and his miracles to the Emperor Tiberius at Rome.

III. *It does not appear that any Christian writer ever saw these Acts or Memoirs of Pilate, which were by him sent to Rome.* For though Justin Martyr and Tertullian have appealed to them, yet it seems to me evident they had not read them; for if they had, without doubt much more of their contents *had been transferred into their Apologies for Christianity*, which they addressed to the Emperors or Senate. *Nec Justinus nec Tertullianus ea Acta legisse videntur, sed pro certo sumfisse—quæ ad Christum pertinebant complexa ea esse*, says Le Clerc ^c, i. e. *Neither Justin nor Tertullian seem to have read those Acts (of Pilate, which they appeal to), but to take it for granted (as an allowed thing) that they contained accounts of Christ.* Had they had in their hands any such acts or memoirs, nothing could have been more to their purpose, than to have produced them in the very words at length; and as nothing would have conduced more to have established and confirmed the Gospel history and Christian cause, they would be justly charged with unpardonable negligence to omit the producing them. Add to all this, that these first apologists were exceeding careful to amass all together, that would any way tend to beget in the minds of their enemies a persuasion of the truth of their religion, and the miracles and resurrection of Jesus Christ; to have effected which, nothing could possibly have had a greater influence than these records of Pilate's writing. Besides, had any of the Christians been favoured with the sight of these Acts, one would have imagined Minutius Felix, who made a considerable figure at Rome ^d, or Eusebius, who was so familiar with Constantine, would have been the persons; but inasmuch as the former has not men-

^a Epist. ad Boherell. l. 2. apud Spanheim loc. cit.

^b Lib. et loc. cit. p. 324.

^c Ibid.

^d Hieronym. Catal. Vir. Illustr. in Minut. Felic.

tioned them, nor the latter said any more of them than what he transcribed out of Tertullian, it is reasonable to conclude they were not seen by any of the Christian writers : which will appear yet of greater force, if we consider, that ^a this same Eusebius makes use of the publick records of the city Edessa ; and a great part of his work is taken up in collections or transcripts of every thing, whether wrote by Jews (as Philo and Josephus), Heathens, or Christians, for the credit of Christianity. If it be enquired here, *How then came it to pass that Justin and Tertullian, as in the former head, should appeal to these Acts, since neither they nor any other Christians saw them ?* I answer with the great Casaubon ^b, that it seems probable some servants or officers of one of the Cæsars, who were converted to Christianity, and had the opportunity of searching and being acquainted with the publick records at Rome, gave this general account to some Christians, from whom Justin and Tertullian had it. And whereas it may be objected, that it is strange that afterwards, when the Emperors became Christians, these records or Acts of Pilate, did not become publick ; I answer, that there is nothing more likely than that they were destroyed by the malice of the Senate, or some Roman Emperor, who (as it is certain), when they perceived the growing interest of Christianity, omitted nothing which they imagined would have any tendency to crush and prevent it.

^a Hist. Eccl. l. i. c. 13.

^b Exercit. xvi. adv. Baron. Annual. loc. jam cit.

C H A P. XXX.

A Conjecture concerning the Occasion and Original of these Acts or Gospel. They seem to have been the Composure of some Christian in the latter End of the third Century. This Conjecture supported by several Arguments.

IV. **F**ROM the preceding observations it seems obvious to conjecture, *the age, occasion, and original of the Spurious Gospel of Nicodemus, or those Acts of Pilate which I have now under consideration, viz. That it was the forgery of some Christian about the latter end of the third century*; who, observing that there had been appeals made by the Christians of the former age to some *Acts of Pilate*, but that none either were or could be produced, imagined that it would be of service to Christianity to publish this performance, as what would be not only confirming to the Christians in those times of persecution, but evidential to the Heathens of the truth of their religion. The great defects of the history of these times, the loss of so many antient books, the uncertainty as to the genuineness of those we have, with many other such reasons, make it exceeding difficult to form any certain judgment in things of this nature; I propose therefore this only as what seems to me a probable conjecture, for the following reasons:

1. *Such pious frauds in the primitive times* (even in the three first centuries) *were very common among Christians.* This is undeniably evident by a great number of instances in the second part of the preceding volume.

2. *No Heathen can be supposed to be author of this Gospel.* For besides that it proves the author much more acquainted with the Christian story and doctrine, than any Heathen can be with reason supposed to be, the whole composition is accommodated and intended (however it may fall short) for the honour of Jesus Christ and his doctrines, which cannot be the work of an Heathen.

3. *A forgery of this nature, and with the view above mentioned,*

tioned, seems natural and probable. For if (as has been proved in the last Observation) the Christians were not able to produce the *Acts of Pilate*, it is natural to suppose the Heathens would reflect with severity upon those Christians who had before appealed to them, and in consequence upon the cause itself, as supported by the falsehood and insincerity of its followers. For this reason, I say, it seems in the nature of things likely such a composure should be forged, which might be of use to silence those who should at any time make such an objection against Christianity; and we have innumerable instances of forgeries on less plausible reasons.

4. *The first account of any book among the Christians, intitled, The Acts of Pilate, is, that the Tessarescaidecatites made use of it to support their peculiar notion about Easter. This we read in Epiphanius^a.*

Ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀκτῶν ᾗθεν Πιλά-
τε αὐχῶσι τὴν ἀκρίβειαν εὐ-
ρηκεῖναι, ἐν οἷς ἐμφέρεται, τῇ
πρὸ ὀκτῶ καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλί-
ων τὸν Σωτῆρα πεπονθέναι·
καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ βάλον-
ται ἄγειν τὸ Πάσχα, ὅποια δ'
ἂν ἐμπέσῃ ἢ τεσσαρεσκαίδε-
κάτῃ τῆς σελήνης.

They boast, that they have discovered the exact time of this institution from the *Acts of Pilate*, in which it is written, that our Saviour suffered on the eighth of the calends of April: accordingly on that day they will always keep Easter, not regarding what day the fourteenth day of the moon happened.

5. *The sect of the Tessarescaidecatites (or Quartadecimans, as they are sometimes called) did not arise till the middle or latter end of the third century. To prove this, I observe that this sect had its rise from the Quintillians (otherwise called Priscillianists, Artotyrites, and Pepuzians); and that these had their rise from the Montanists or Cataphrygians. This we are expressly told by Epiphanius^b. Now Montanus lived,*

^a Hæref. 50. §. 1.

^b Hæref. 49. §. 1. and Hæref. 50. §. 1.

and his heresy began, in the latter end of the second century, about the year of Christ CLXXIV, and continued for a long time in its flourishing state. Apollonius, who wrote largely and learnedly against Montanism, says he wrote just forty years after Montanus broached his heresy^a; and then, as Eusebius^b collects from Apollonius, that heresy ἀκμάζουσα ἦν, *was in its height*, i. e. about the year CCXIV. Soter also, Bishop of Rome, about this time wrote against the same heresy^c. Tertullian, in his seventh book *de Ecstasy*, now lost, wrote an Answer in vindication of Montanism against Apollonius, if we may credit the author of the tract *de Hæresibus*, Hæres. 26. published by Sirmondus under the name of *Prædestinatus*^d. So then if we allow any space of time to have intervened between the height of Montanism and its offspring the Quintillians, or Priscillianists, which were formed out of it, and any space between the rise of the Quintillianists and the rise of the Tefarescaidecatites (which must necessarily be), it will undeniably follow, that these last (who are the persons with whom I am now concerned) could not arise till towards the latter end of the third century, or the beginning of the fourth.

6. Hence it follows, that the Acts of Pilate *cannot be proved to have been read, or in use among the Christians till the latter end of the third century*; because (as I have proved) they do not appear to have been used by any before the sect of the Tefarescaidecatites.

7. *About the latter end of the third century, the Pagans or enemies of Christianity forged and published a book, intitled, The Acts of Pilate.* This I gather from three several places in Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History.

The first is lib. 1. cap. 9.

Οὐκ ἔν σαφῶς ἀπελήλεγται
τὸ πλάσμα τῶν κατὰ τῆ Σω-

From whence the *forgery* of
those is manifestly detected (or

^a Vid. Euseb. Histor. Eccl. l. 5. c. 18.

^b Ibid.

^c Cave Hist. Liter. in Soter. p. 40. vol. 1.

^d Id. in Tertul. p. 59.

refuted),

τῆρος ἡμῶν ὑπομνήματα χθῆς
καὶ πρῶν διαδεδοκότων· ἐν οἷς
πρῶτ^{ος} αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς παραση-
μαίωσης χρόν^{ος} τῶν πεπλα-
κότων ἀπελέγχει τὸ ψεῦδ^{ος}.
Ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης γὰρ ὑπα-
τείας Τιβερίου, ἣ γέγονεν ἔτος
ἑβδόμῃ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῆς,
τὰ περὶ τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῖς
παύ^ς· πολυμήντα περιέχει.
Καθ' ὃν δαίνονται χρόνον, μὴδ'
ἐπιγὰς πω τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ Πιλά-
τ^{ος}, εἶγε τῷ Ἰωσήφῳ μάρ-
τυρι χρῆσασθαι δέον, σαφῶς
ἔτω σημαίνοντι κατὰ τὴν δη-
λωθεῖσαν αὐτῆς γραφὴν, ὅτι δὴ
δωδεκάτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ τῆς Τιβερίου
βασιλείας ἐπίτροπ^{ος} τῆς Ἰου-
δαίας ὑπὸ Τιβερίου καθίσταται.

refuted), *who have lately pub-
lished certain Acts against our
Saviour.* In which, first, the
very time which is assigned to
them, discovers the imposture;
for those things which they
have impudently forged to
have come to pass at our Sa-
viour's crucifixion, are said
there to have been *in the
fourth consulship of Tiberius,*
which coincides with the se-
venth year of his reign, at
which time it is certain Pilate
was not yet come to Judea, if
there be any credit to be given
to Josephus, who in the place
forecited expressly saith, *that
Pilate was not constituted go-
vernor of Judea by Tiberius
till the twelfth year of Tiberi-
us's reign.*

The second is lib. I. cap. II. After having produced the
two noted testimonies of Josephus concerning John the
Baptist and Christ, he concludes ;

Ταῦτα τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν Ἑβραίων
συγγραφῆως ἀνέκαθεν τῇ εὐαγγ^{λίᾳ}
γραφῇ, περὶ τε τῆς Βαπτισμ^{οῦ}
Ἰωάννου, καὶ Σωτῆρ^{ος} ἡμῶν
παραδεδοκότ^{ος}, τίς ἂν ἔτι
λείπαιτο ἀποφυγῇ, τῆ μὴ αν-
αισχύντες ἀπελέγχεσθαι τῆς
κατ' αὐτῶν πλάσασμένης ὑπο-
μνήματα ;

Seeing therefore that this
writer (Josephus), who was
himself a Jew, has related
such things in his history con-
cerning John the Baptist and
our Saviour; what can they
possibly say for themselves, to
prevent being convicted of the
most impudent forgery, *who
wrote those Acts against John
and Christ?*

The third is lib. 9. cap. 5.

Πλασάμενοι δὴτα Πιλάτε καὶ
τῷ Σωτῆρι ἡμῶν ὑπομνήματα,
πάσης ἑμπλεα κατὰ τῷ Χριστῷ
βλασφημίας, γνώμη τῷ μεί-
ζοντι ἐπὶ πάντων διαπέμπον-
ται τὴν ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἀρχήν·
διὰ γραμμάτων παρακελεύομε-
νοι, κατὰ πάντα τόπον ἀγγέ-
τε καὶ πόλεις, ἐν ἑκφανεῖ ταῦ-
τα τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐκδεῖναι· τοῖς
τε παισὶ τὰς γραμματοδιδασ-
κάλεις ἀντὶ μαθημάτων ταῦτα
μελετᾶν, καὶ διὰ μνήμης κατ-
έχειν παραδιδόναι.

At length (the Heathens)
having forged certain Acts of
Pilate concerning our Savi-
our, which were full of all
sorts of blasphemy against
Christ, they caused them by
the Decree of Maximinus to
be dispersed through all the
parts of his empire, com-
manding by their letters that
they should be published to all
persons in every place, both
in cities and country places;
and that schoolmasters should
put them into the hands of
children, and oblige them to
study and learn these by heart,
instead of their usual lec-
tures.

From these places it is evident, there were certain spurious
*Acts of Pilate, forged and published by the Heathens in the latter
end of the third century.* Eusebius says in the first of these
places, *χθὺς καὶ πρόην, i. e. very lately, or a little before his time,*
who flourished in the beginning of the fourth century; and
in the last place, *that it was in the reign of Maximinus, who
reigned in the year of Christ 303.* From which agreement in
time it is plain, that Eusebius in both places speaks of the same
Acts, although in the former he does not so expressly call them
the *Acts of Pilate*, as in the latter. That they were a forgery
is certain, not only from the whole design of them, the express
testimony of Eusebius in both places, but also from that argu-
ment out of Josephus, which Eusebius makes use of, viz. that,
according to these Acts, our Saviour's passion under Pontius
Pilate happened in the fourth consulship of Tiberius, which

was the seventh year of his reign ; whereas, according to Josephus, Pilate was not till some years after that time appointed governor of Judæa * ; and it is certain our Saviour was not crucified till the nineteenth or twentieth year of Tiberius.

8. These Acts of Pilate were unquestionably very different from those which were made use of by the Tessarescaidecatites above-mentioned. For if, as Eusebius says, these were a forgery of the Heathens, filled with blasphemies against Christ, and they were published in the reign of Maximinus, by his order, against the Christians, to irritate the Pagans more against them, and to further his cruel persecutions, of which we have so dreadful an account ; it cannot be imagined they would be received by the Tessarescaidecatites (who, as Epiphanius says, differed from other Christians only as to the time of observing Easter), nor indeed by any persons whatsoever, who went under the name of Christians.

9. From the eight foregoing observations it appears very probable, that the Acts of Pilate, or Gospel of Nicodemus, was a forgery of some Christian in the latter end of the third century. For if such pious frauds were common, this was not the work of any Heathen ; and this was a very likely forgery according to the nature and circumstances of things : if in the latter end of the third century we first find it in use among Christians, and about the same find a forgery of the Heathens under the same title, it seems exceeding probable, that partly to confront the spurious one of the Pagans, partly to support those appeals which had been made by former Christians to the Acts of Pilate, some Christian at this time should publish such a piece as this.

* Antiquit. Judaic. l. 18. c. 3.

C H A P. XXXI.

Leucius Charinus proved by several Arguments to have been the Author of this Gospel.

Obf. V. **L** EUCIUS Charinus seems to have been the author of these *Acts of Pilate, or Gospel of Nicodemus*.

This conjecture depends upon the foregoing, and, I hope, will appear no less probable for the following reasons.

1. It is certain Leucius Charinus lived about that time which I have assigned to the original of this book, viz. in the latter end of the third and beginning of the fourth century. This I have above largely proved, Part II. Ch. XXI.

2. It is certain Leucius was the author of many forgeries or spurious pieces under the names of the Apostles and Disciples of Christ. This is evident from the chapter now cited in the former volume, and several parts of that work. See also Gesenius's Decree.

3. Most of the Apocryphal books which Leucius published, were intitled *Acts*; such, for instance, were the *Acts of Peter, John, Andrew, Thomas, and Paul*; and others above produced in the former volume; all which were certainly made by Leucius Charinus, as appears from Photius, Biblioth. Cod. 114. Austin, and others, in the places there cited. See also the alphabetical index at the end of the first part of this work, in the letter L.

4. The Apocryphal books of Leucius Charinus were generally filled with idle, fabulous, and romantick stories, exactly of the same sort with those contained in these *Acts of Pilate, or Gospel of Nicodemus*. This will be manifest by a comparison of those fables concerning Matimilla and Iphidamia, God's appearing in the form of a little boy, feigning the voice of a woman, the souls of men like the souls of dogs, &c. produced above (Par. II. Ch. XXI.) as fragments of his *Acts out of Austin and Philastrius*, with several stories in these *Acts of Pilate*.

5. *Leucius*

5. *Leucius was boasted of by the Montanists, as a favourer of their scheme. Phryges se a Leucio animatos mentiri*, says Pacianus^a, a writer of the fourth century; i. e. *The Montanists boast that their principles were revived by Leucius*, as I have elsewhere explained those words^b. Whence I argue, as a collateral proof, that *these Acts* were made by Leucius, viz. because they were received by the Tessarescaidecatites, who descended from, or were formed out of, the Montanists, as appears from Epiphanius, Hæref. 50. §. 1. See the last chapter, Obs. IV. Numb. 5.

6. That which seems to put the matter out of all controversy, (viz. that Leucius Charinus was the author of these *Acts of Pilate*) is, *that a very considerable part of it is in the book itself ascribed to him as the author*. This seems to me so evident, that I much wonder it has not been observed by any of those who have read and mentioned this Apocryphal Gospel. To make this out I observe, that Joseph of Arimathea is introduced, Ch. XVII. as inviting Annas and Caiaphas to see two sons of old Simeon (mentioned Luke ii. 25.), who were arisen from the dead, in the city of Arimathea; that they accordingly went with him, accompanied by Joseph and Gamaliel, and found them, not in their graves, but in the city on their knees at prayers; brought them to Jerusalem, and obliged them upon oath to relate an account of their resurrection to them: that the *names of these two sons of Simeon were Charinus and Lenthius*, who, not daring to give the relation in words, called for paper, and wrote down all that long account of our Saviour's descent to hell, and his' delivery of Adam, and the Patriarchs and Fathers from hell, which is contained from Ch. XVIII. to the XXVIIIth, which makes so large a part of this Gospel: that when Charinus and Lenthius had wrote this, the former gave his writing to Annas, Caiaphas, and Gamaliel; the latter gave his to Nicodemus and Joseph. Hence it is evident that Lenthius and Charinus were *authors of a large part of this book*; and these, though

^a Millii Prolegom. in N. T.

^b Part II. Ch. XXI.

made here two names, are *the very name of that person whom I conjecture to be the author of the whole*. For though the name be here written Lenthius, and not Leucius, this was undoubtedly the same name, and the true reading ought to be Leucius; and it has been often observed by learned men, that this person's name has been promiscuously written Lentius, Leucius, Leutius, Lentitius, Leontius, Seleucus. See Caſaubon^a, Fabricius^b, and the first volume of this work^c, in the places cited in the bottom of the page. Nor will this at all seem strange to those who consider the old contract way of writing, which was so common, especially in the proper names of persons and things. I take it therefore for granted, that Lenthius and Leucius were one and the same name, or rather, that Lenthius was written by some scribe for Leucius; which very thing (as I have above observed) has more than once happened in the printing the former part of this book. And though the names be here transposed, viz. Charinus placed before Leucius, and they are made the names of two different persons, yet this seems to have been only with design the better to disguise the imposture; it being farther observable, and very certain also, that these were *both Greek or Roman names*, and consequently not the names of two sons of Simeon, who was a Jew, and, according to this book, a priest.

7. The long account of *Christ's going at his death to hell, and by his power delivering Adam, the Patriarchs, and Prophets, &c. from hell*, contained from Ch. XVIII. to the XXVIIIth of this Gospel, and there related by Leucius and Charinus, is *founded upon a doctrine not known or received in the Church till the time of Leucius Charinus*: though it is certain, that the primitive Church generally believed the *local descent of Christ's soul to the habitations of souls departed*, as is evident from Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, Origen, and many others^d; yet it is as certain, that before that time which I have affixed to Leucius Charinus, it was not so generally be-

^a Exercit. adv. Baron. 1. n. 15.

^b Cod. Apoc. N. T. tom. 1. p.

137.

^c Part II. Ch. XXI.

^d See Bishop Pearson on the Creed, Art. V. p. 237, &c.

lieved that he then wrought a delivery for the Patriarchs, Prophets, and other good men who lived before his time, from that state. Eusebius, Ambrose, Jerome, and other writers of the fourth century, were indeed of this opinion ; but the more ancient Fathers, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, &c. thought of no such things. For the proof of all which, I shall think it sufficient to refer the reader to Bishop Pearson's clear and learned Explication of that fifth Article of the Creed, concerning Christ's Descent into Hell, p. 240, &c.

From this and the foregoing particulars it seems very probable, that Leucius Charinus was the author of the Gospel which we have now under consideration, under the title of *Nicodemus*, or the *Acts of Pilate*. For if he lived at the very time when this book was forged ; if he was the author of many forgeries under the Apostles' names ; if the greatest part of his forgeries were intitled *Acts* ; if the contents of it were of the same sort with his other *Acts* ; if it was received by the disciples of the Montanists, of whom he was a favourer ; if his name be expressly found in the book, and he there said to be the author of a considerable part of it ; in a word, if it contains those doctrines which were not prevalent till his time ; all which is proved ; then we have as much evidence as can be expected in things of this sort, that *Leucius Charinus was the author of this Apocryphal Gospel*.

C H A P. XXXII.

The Gospel of Nicodemus is Apocryphal: not received by the Antients: contains manifest Contradictions, many Things false, many trifling and silly Stories: things later than the Time in which it pretends to be written: it is stolen out of the genuine Scriptures: several miscellaneous Remarks on this Gospel.

Obf. VI. **T**HE Gospel of Nicodemus, or the Acts of Pilate, is a *spurious and Apocryphal book*. This is indeed abundantly manifest from what I have already said; but I shall notwithstanding farther attempt this proof by my propositions in the first part. Accordingly, because it is not found in any of the old Christian catalogues of sacred books, nor cited in any of the old Christian writings, nor appears to have been read in any of the Christian Churches, I argue it to be Apocryphal by Prop. IV, V, and VI. I add,

2. It is Apocryphal by Prop. VII. as it contains manifest contradictions. To instance only in one or two, which are very notorious. Chap. II, the twelve men, Eliezer, Asterius, Antonius, &c. who declare themselves to be no proselytes, but born Jews; when Pilate tendered them an oath, and would have had them swear by the life of Cæsar, *refused*, because, they say, *We have a law that forbids our swearing, and makes it sinful to swear:* yet Ch. IV. I observe the Elders, Scribes, Priests, and Levites, are brought in *swearing by the life of Cæsar* without any scruple; and, Ch. XIV. they make others, who were Jews, *swear by the Law*, as they do also Ch. XVII. and Pilate gives an oath to a whole assembly of the Scribes, Chief-priests, &c. Ch. XXVIII. This seems a manifest contradiction. Another is, that Ch. IX. Pilate is introduced as making a speech to the Jews, in which *he gives a true and just abstract of the Old Testament History* relating to the Israelites, viz. what God had done for them, and how they had behaved themselves to him. Whereas the same Pilate,

Chap.

Chap. XXVIII. *is made to be perfectly ignorant of the Bible,* and only to have heard by report that there was such a book ; nor can it be said, that Pilate here *only refers to the Bible kept in the Temple* ; for the manner of speech shews he was ignorant of the contents of the book ; *I have heard you have a certain book, &c.* and this is indeed in itself very probable.

3. It is Apocryphal by Prop. VIII. *as it contains many things contrary to known truths.* Such is indeed the whole of it, besides what is taken out of our present genuine Gospels. Who, for instance, will credit the long story Ch. XVIII, &c. *of Christ's going down to hell*, and all the romantick fabulous relations of what happened thereupon ? Who will believe that Christ there signed Adam and the Patriarchs *with the sign of the cross*, and that *all the holy Patriarchs were in hell till that time ?* &c. Besides, in other places there are notorious falsehoods ; as that is, *to make the Jews understand our Saviour, as saying that he would destroy Solomon's Temple*, Ch. IV. which they could not but know had been destroyed several hundred years before. To make *the name Centurio to be the proper name of a man* who came to Christ, when it is certain it was the name of his post or office, &c. To make the words of Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 55. *O death, where is thy sting ? O grave, where is thy victory ?* to be the words of Isaiah, Ch. XXI. and to make Simeon (Ch. XVI. and XVII.) to be a High-priest, which it is certain he was not. See above in this part, Ch. XIX. Arg. IV. Inft. 7.

4. It is Apocryphal by Prop. IX. *as it contains many trifling, silly, and ludicrous relations* : such is that of the *standards or colours bowing to Christ as he passed by*, Ch. I. *Christ's kissing Joseph, and confining him to his house for forty days*, Ch. XV. Such are *all the accounts from hell, viz. The speeches of the Prophets, Seth's story of going to God at the gates of Paradise, for ointment to anoint his father Adam for the head-ach ; The dialogues between the devils ; Christ's taking Adam by the hand out of hell ; Christ's giving the thief the sign of the cross for a passport to heaven, and ordering him to shew it the angel at his coming to the gates ; The exact agreement of the writing of Lenthinus and Charinus*, Ch. XXVIII. *inasmuch that there was*
not

not one letter different, either more or less, in the writing of either, though they wrote separately ; a story, as Mr. Fabricius (*in loc.*) well observes, like, and I add, very probably formed from, that trite story of the seventy Greek translators, who made their version in seventy separate columns, without the difference of so much as one word. See Justin Martyr, Paræn. ad Græc. p. 13, 14.

5. It is Apocryphal, because it contains several things which were later than the time, in which it pretends to be written. Such seems to be the title or compellation (Ch. I.) where-with the Jews address Pilate ; *Rogamus magnitudinem vestram ; We intreat your highness, &c.* a phraseology not known to the Jews, or used among them at that time. Such is the express mention of *original sin*, a phrase not known among Christians in those early days. Such is the *story of Christ's going to hell to recover and bring thence the Patriarchs*. Such the *mighty veneration that is paid to the sign of the cross*, and particularly *the practice of signing with the sign of the cross*, which is here said to be done by Charinus and Lenthius, Ch. XVII. before they enter upon their relation of the divine mysteries ; and *Christ's making the sign of the cross upon Adam and upon all the saints in hell*, before he delivered them from that state, Ch. XXIV. Concerning which practice of signing with the cross, I would observe, that though in the fourth and following centuries it was prodigiously common among Christians, by means of that noted history of Constantine's seeing the sign of the cross in the air ^a ; yet, as far as I can find, Tertullian is the first who has mentioned it. There is indeed, in *the works under the name of Dionysius Areopagita* ^b, in *the Epistle under the name of Martial* (Bishop of the Lemovices in France, who lived within thirty or forty years of our Saviour's time), to the people of Bourdeaux ^c, and in *the pretended Constitutions of the Apostles* ^d, mention of the use of the sign of the cross in

^a Euseb. de Vita Constant. l. 1. c. 28, 29, 30, 31.

^b De Eccl. Hier. c. 4, 5, 6.

^c Epist. ad Burdegal. c. 8.

^d Lib. 8. c. 12. Both Durant, loc. mox cit. and Spanheim Hist. Eccl. Secul. II. p. 628, refer to this passage ; but incorrectly.

baptism and on other occasions : but I regard not the authority of such books as these, *being all of very late original*, and will not make any scruple to assert this practice not to be mentioned by any sooner than Tertullian. He who would see the account of the Fathers concerning this matter, may consult Pamelius in his notes on Cyprian, Epist. 56. n. 31. and Epist. 63. n. 39. and the same author on Tertull. de Coron. Milit. c. 3. n. 40. and especially the learned Durant. de Ritib. Eccles. Cathol. l. 2. c. 45.

6. It is Apocryphal by Prop. XIV. because for the most part *it is transcribed and stolen out of other books*. Nothing can be more evident to any one who is acquainted with the sacred books, and has read this Gospel, than that a great part of it is borrowed and stolen from them. Every such person must perceive, that *the greatest part of the history of our Saviour's trial is taken out of our present Gospels*, not only because it is a relation of the same facts and circumstances, *but also in the very same words and order* for the most part; and though this may be supposed to have happened accidentally, yet it is next to impossible to suppose a constant likeness of expression, not only *to one*, but sometimes *to one*, and sometimes *to another* of our Evangelists. In short, the author seems to have designed a sort of abstract or compendium of all which he found most considerable to his purpose in our four Gospels; though he has but awkwardly enough put it together.

Under this head I observe farther, that, to cover the imposture the better, those things which were spoke according to the Scriptures, *by or of one person or thing*, are by this author often referred to another. So, for instance, what Christ said to the Jews, *For which of these (good) works do ye stone me?* John x. 32. is alluded to in that of Pilate, Ch. II. *Will they kill him for a good work?* The words of Christ, John xv. 24. *that he had done the works which no other person had done*, are put into the mouth of Nicodemus, Ch. V. The speech of Gamaliel, Acts v. 38, 39, *Refrain from these men, and let them alone; for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it*, is here ascribed

ascribed to Nicodemus, Ch. V. And though the instances which Gamaliel mentions are Theudas and Judas Galileus, and instead of these are put the magicians of Egypt; yet the very same words that Gamaliel says of his instances, v. 36. this author says of his, viz. *They all perished and came to naught, and all who believed them.* Again, what Christ said to his disciples, Matt. xiv. 27. when they were affrighted at the sight of him walking upon the sea, *Be not afraid, it is I;* and to his disciples, when they saw him after his resurrection, Luke xxiv. 39. he is made here to say to Joseph, Ch. XV. That which our Lord said Matt. xxiii. 39. *Ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord;* this author expounds as relating to Christ's resurrection; and therefore, after his being risen again, *puts it into the mouth of Joseph,* Ch. XV. Because John is said to be *the voice* (*φωνή*, which is in the feminine gender) *of one crying in the wilderness,* Isai. xl. 3. and Matt. iii. 3. therefore he is, represented in hell as *a little female hermit,* Ch. XVIII. Many other such instances, he who has a mind, may easily collect. From all which it is evident, this author *compiled his book out of our present sacred books,* and consequently by Prop. XIV. that it is Apocryphal.

7. It is Apocryphal, because *it is not in the Syriack Version,* by Prop. XV.

Thus I have endeavoured to shew the spuriousness of this Gospel, and offered such observations as I judged most pertinent and considerable in order thereto. I shall close my discourse on it with the few following miscellaneous remarks, viz.

1. *The names which are in this Gospel given to those which were Jews, are not Jewish, but either Greek or Roman, or of foreign countries.* Such are the names Summas, Datam, Alexander, Cyrus, Ch. I. Asterius, Antonius, Caras or Cyrus, Crippus or Crispus, Ch. II. Charinus and Lenthius, Ch. XVII. This seems to be no inconsiderable evidence of the imposture.

2. The

2. The oration under the name of Epiphanius^a, intitled, *Εἰς τὴν δίδωμον ταφῆν τῷ Κυρίῳ καὶ Σωτῆρι ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, καὶ εἰς τὸν Ἰωσήφ τὸν ἀπὸ Ἀρμαθείας, καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἄδῃ τῷ Κυρίῳ καταβαίνον, μετὰ τὸ σωτήριον αἶμα^β παραδόξως γεγεμμένον, An Oration on the Burial of the Divine Body of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and on Joseph of Arimathea; and our Lord's marvellous Descent into Hell after his Crucifixion*—contains the substance of what is related in this Gospel concerning Christ's journey to hell, and delivering the saints thence, and particularly the account of his leading Adam out, the confusion of the infernal princes, the other saints following Adam, the application of several texts of Scripture to this event, &c. Besides this, I observe in this Oration, that Nicodemus is introduced as assisting Joseph of Arimathea at the funeral of Christ, and bringing with him myrrh and aloes for that purpose, which is also related in this Gospel, Ch. XI. I shall not make any conclusions hence, but leave the hint to the improvement of the learned; only adding, that it seems very probable to me, though I cannot find it observed either by Coke or Rivet, that this oration is supposititious, and belonged to some other Epiphanius, different from him among whose works it is placed^b.

3. *The present Latin copies of this Gospel seem to be a translation out of Greek.* This (to omit other instances) seems evident, because we so frequently in it meet with *quia* in the sense of *quod*, i. e. to signify as the English particle *that*, and not as *because*, which yet it properly does. The reason of this translation seems to me the ambiguity of the Greek particle *ὅτι*, which answers both to *quia* and *quod*; but as it can hardly be thought a person who chose to write in Latin, would be guilty of such a mistake, I conclude this probably to have been a translation, and, for the reason mentioned, out of Greek. Add to this, that this sense or use of the particle *quia* for *quod* is common *usque ad nauseam*, in many or most of the old Latin translations of the Greek Fathers; and I have noted it in above twenty places in this Gospel.

^a See it among his works, vol. 2. p. 259, &c.

^b It is rejected as spurious by Dr. Cave, Hist. Lit. vol. 1. p. 186.

4. *The Latin of this book is every where far from being elegant, and in many places extremely bald and barbarous. It would be endless to mention all the instances; I will produce only a few.*

Ch. I. *Iste mihi discernit*; i. e. he made me to understand.

Quovis ordine introduc eum; bring him in by any means.

Quomodo habuimus adorare eum? how should we worship him?

Fecit eodem schemate sicut et prius; he did as before.

Intuitus in populo; looking upon the people.

Ch. IX. *Loco ubi tentus es*; in the place where thou art.

Ch. XI. *Eclipsis factus est*; it was an eclipse.

Ch. XII. *Mibi vindictam* for *vindicta*.

Super vos omne facinus veniet; all the wickedness will return upon you.

Ch. XIII. *Diffamatus est sermo eorum*; their report was spread abroad.

Ch. XIV. *Ut nullo modo starent in Jerusalem*; that they might by no means stay at Jerusalem.

Ch. XV. *Quo ordine possumus*, &c. how shall we be able, &c. *Admirati sumus de assumptione tuâ*; we are surprised at your escape.

These are some instances; it is easy with a cursory view to observe a hundred more.

5. The angel Michael is *made to call Adam the father of the Angels*, Ch. XIX. These are his words, *The Son of God will lead our father Adam into Paradise*.

6. The proof which is brought, that Christ was to come in the year of the world five thousand and five hundred, is not only false, and contrary to the certain chronology of the Old Testament, but is in itself false. This is observed by Mr. Fabricius, Cod. Apoc. N. T. t. i. p. 297. and will appear thus. The author, to make his sum of 5500 years, computes thus:

* [Fabricius has written *facta*.]

	Years.
From the creation to the flood,	2212
From the flood to Abraham,	912
From Abraham to Moses,	430
From Moses to David,	510
From David to the captivity,	500
From the captivity to Christ	400
Total,	4964

But 4964 is less than 5500 by 536 years. Wherefore it is plain, either that the author is by so many years mistaken in his own computation, or else that our present copies are corrupt.

C H A P. XXXIII.

The Acts of Paul and Thecla.

Μαρτύριον τῆς ἀγίας καὶ ἐν- *The Martyrdom of the holy*
δόξε πρωτομάρτυρος καὶ *and glorious first martyr and*
ἀποστόλου Θέκλας. *Apostle Thecla.*

[*Which is supposed to have been written in the Apostle's time, and to have passed under the name of St. Paul, and to have been intitled, The Acts of Paul and Thecla. Published out of a manuscript in the Bodleian Library at Oxford^a.*]

CAP. I.

CHAP. I.

Α Ναβαίνοντος τῷ Παύλῳ
εἰς Ἰκόνιον μετὰ τὴν
φυγὴν τὴν ἀπὸ Ἀντιοχείας,

W HEN Paul went up
to Iconium, after his
flight from Antioch, Demas

^a Grab. Spicileg. Patr. t. i. p. 95.

ἰγενήθησαν αὐτῷ συνοδοίποροι. Δημᾶς καὶ Ἑρμογένης ὁ χαλκεὺς, ὑποκρίσεως γέμοντες. Ὁ δὲ Παῦλος ἀποβλέπων εἰς μόνην τὴν ἀγαθωσύνην τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἰδὼν φαῦλον ἐποίει αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐσεργεν αὐτὰς σφόδρα. Ὡς περὶ πάντα τὰ λόγια τῆ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας, καὶ τῆς ἐρμηνείας τῆ Εὐαγγελίας τῆ ἡγαπημένης, ἐγλύχανεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐν τῇ γνώσει τῆ Χριστοῦ, ὡς ἀπεκαλύφθη αὐτῷ, διηγέσατο αὐτοῖς.

CAP. II.

Καί τις ἀνὴρ Ὀνησιφόρος, μαθὼν τὸν Παῦλον παραγένομενον εἰς Ἰκόνιον, παραιτῶν αὐτὸν ἐξῆλθεν σὺν τῇ ἰδίᾳ γυναικὶ Λέκτρα, καὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν τέκνοις Σημμία καὶ Ζήνωνι, εἰς ἀπάντησιν αὐτοῦ, ἵνα αὐτὸν δεῖξωται. Διηγέσατο γὰρ αὐτοῖς Τίτος, ποταπῶς εἰσιν ἡ ἰδέα αὐτῷ· μὴ εἰδῶσιν αὐτὸν σαρκί, ἀλλὰ μόνον πνεύματι. Ἐπορεύοντο ἔνθα κατὰ τὴν βασιλικὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπὶ Λύστραν, καὶ εἰσῆκισαν ἀπεκδεχόμενοι αὐτόν· καὶ τὰς διερχομένους ἐθεώρουν κατὰ τὴν μῆνυσιν Τίτου. Ἰδὼν δὲ τὸν

and Hermogenes became his companions, who were then full of hypocrisy. But Paul looking only at the goodness of God, did them no harm, but loved them greatly. Accordingly he endeavoured to make agreeable to them, all the oracles and doctrines of Christ, and the design of the Gospel of God's well-beloved Son, instructing them in the knowledge of Christ, as it was revealed to him.

CHAP. II.

And a certain man named Onesiphorus, hearing that Paul was come to Iconium, went out speedily to meet him, together with his wife Lectra, and his sons Simmia and Zeno, to invite him to their house. (For Titus had given them a description of Paul's personage, they as yet not knowing him in person, but only being acquainted with his character.) They went in the king's highway to Lystra, and stood there waiting for him, comparing all who passed by, with that description which Titus had given them. At length they saw

ἄνδρα ἐρχόμενον, τὸν Παῦλον, μικρὸν τῷ μεγέθει, ψιλὸν τὴν κεφαλὴν, ἀγκύλον ταῖς κνήμαϊς, εὐκνημον, σύνοφρον, ἐπίρρινον, χάριτος πλήρη· ποτὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐφαίνετο ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ποτὶ δὲ ἀγίλας πρόσωπον εἶχεν. Καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ Παῦλος τὸν Ὀνησιφόρον, ἐμειδίασεν.

saw a man coming (viz. Paul), of a low stature, bald (or shaved) on the head, crooked thighs, handsome legs, hollow-eyed; had a crooked nose; full of grace; for sometimes he appeared as a man, sometimes he had the countenance of an angel. And Paul saw Onesiphorus, and was glad.

CAP. III.

CHAP. III.

Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Ὀνησιφόρος· Χαῖρε ὑπηρέτα τῷ εὐλογημένῳ. Κακεῖνος εἶπεν· Ἡ χάρις μετὰ σε, καὶ τῷ οἴκῳ σε. Δημᾶς δὲ καὶ Ἑρμογένης ἐζήλωσαν, καὶ πλείονα τὴν ὑπόκρισιν ἐκίνησαν, ὥς ἐιπεῖν τὸν Δημᾶν· Ἡμεῖς ἐκ ἐσμὲν τῷ εὐλογημένῳ; ὃ, τι ἡμᾶς ἐκ ἡσπᾶσω; Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Ὀνησιφόρος· Οὐχ ὁρῶ ἐν ὑμῖν καρπὸν δικαιοσύνης· εἰ δὲ ἔσε τι-νές, δεῦτε καὶ ὑμεῖς εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου, καὶ ἀναπαύεσθε. Καὶ εἰσελθόντος τῷ Παύλῳ εἰς τὸν οἶκον τῷ Ὀνησιφόρῳ, ἐγένετο χαρὰ μεγάλη, καὶ κλίσις γονάτων, καὶ κλάσις ἄρτε, καὶ λόγος Θεῷ περὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ ἀναστάσεως, λέγοντος τῷ Παύλῳ ἕτως·

And Onesiphorus said: *Hail, thou servant of the blessed God.* Paul replied, *The grace of God be with thee and thy family.* But Demas and Hermogenes were moved with envy, and, under a shew of great religion, Demas said, *And are not we also servants of the blessed God? Why dost thou not salute us?* Onesiphorus replied, *Because I have not perceived in you the fruits of righteousness; nevertheless, if ye are of that sort, ye shall be welcome to my house also.* Then Paul went into the house of Onesiphorus, and there was great joy among the family on that account; and they employed themselves in prayer, breaking of bread, and hearing Paul preach the word of God concerning tem-

perance and the resurrection, in the following manner :

CAP. IV.

Μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ
καρδίᾳ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ τὸν Θεὸν
ὄψονται. Μακάριοι οἱ ἀγνήν
τὴν σάρκα τηρήσαντες, ὅτι
αὐτοὶ ναοὶ Θεῶ γενήσονται.
Μακάριοι οἱ ἐγκρατεῖς, ὅτι
αὐτοῖς λαλήσει ὁ Θεός.

CAP. V.

Μακάριοι οἱ ἀποταξάμενοι
τῷ κόσμῳ τῷ τῷ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ
εὐαρεστήσονται τῷ Θεῷ. Μα-
κάριοι οἱ ἔχοντες γυναῖκας ὡς
μὴ ἔχοντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἄγγελοι
Θεῶ γενήσονται. Μακάριοι
οἱ τρέμοντες τὰ λόγια τῶ
Θεῶ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ παρακληθή-
σονται. Μακάριοι οἱ τὸ βάπ-
τισμα καθαρὸν τηρήσαντες,
ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἀναπαύσονται πρὸς
τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν,
καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.

CAP. VI.

Μακάριοι οἱ σοφίαν λαβόν-
τες Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι αὐτοὶ
υἱοὶ Ὑψίστου κληθήσονται. Μα-
κάριοι οἱ σύνεσιν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

CHAP. IV.

‘Blessed are the pure in
‘heart; for they shall see God.
‘Blessed are they who keep
‘their flesh undefiled (or
‘pure); for they shall be the
‘temples of God. Blessed
‘are the temperate (or chaste);
‘for God will reveal himself
‘to them.

CHAP. V.

‘Blessed are they who a-
‘bandon their secular enjoy-
‘ments; for they shall be ac-
‘cepted of God. Blessed are
‘they who have wives, as
‘though they had them not;
‘for they shall be made an-
‘gels of God. Blessed are
‘they who tremble at the
‘word of God; for they shall
‘be comforted. Blessed are
‘they who keep their baptism
‘pure; for they shall find
‘peace with the Father, Son,
‘and Holy Ghost.

CHAP. VI.

‘Blessed are they who pur-
‘sue the wisdom (or doctrine)
‘of Jesus Christ; for they
‘shall be called the Sons of
‘the Most High. Blessed
‘are they who observe the in-
‘structions of Jesus Christ;
‘for

τηρήσαντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐν φωτὶ
γενήσονται. Μακάριοι οἱ δι'
ἀγάπην Χριστοῦ ἐξελθόντες τοῦ
σχήματος τοῦ κόσμου, ὅτι αὐ-
τοὶ ἀγγέλους κρινῶσιν, καὶ ἐν
δεξιᾷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σταθίσονται,
καὶ ἐκ ὀψωνταὶ ἡμέραν κρίσεως
πικράν.

' for they shall dwell in eter-
' nal light. Blessed are they,
' who for the love of Christ
' abandon the glories of the
' world; for they shall judge
' angels, and be placed at the
' right hand of Christ, and
' shall not suffer the bitter-
' nefs of the last judgment.

CAP. VII.

Μακάρια τὰ σώματα τῶν
παρθένων καὶ τὰ πνεύματα,
ὅτι αὐταὶ εὐαρεσήσασιν τῷ
Θεῷ, καὶ ἐκ ἀπολέσασιν τὸν
μισθὸν αὐτῶν τῆς ἀγνείας·
ὅτι ὁ λόγος τοῦ πατρὸς ἔργον
αὐτοῖς γενήσεται σωτηρίας εἰς
ἡμέραν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀνά-
παυσιν ἔχουσιν εἰς αἰῶνα αἰ-
ῶνος.

CHAP. VII.

' Blessed are the bodies and
' souls of virgins; for they
' are acceptable to God, and
' shall not lose the reward of
' their virginity; for the
' word of their (heavenly)
' Father shall prove effectual
' to their salvation in the day
' of his Son, and they shall
' enjoy rest for evermore.'

CAP. VIII.

Καὶ ταῦτα αὐτῷ λέγοντος
εἰς μέσον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν τῷ
Ὀνησιφόρου οἴκῳ, ΘΕΚΛΑ τις
παρθένος, θυγάτηρ Θεοκλίας
μητρὸς, μεμνηστυμένη ἀνδρὶ
Θαμύριδι, αὕτη ἐπὶ τῆς θυ-
ρίδος τοῦ οἴκου αὐτῆς καθεσ-
θεῖσα ἀπὸ τῆς συνέλευς θυρίδος
ἤκουεν νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας τὸν
περὶ Θεοῦ λόγον λεγόμενον ὑπὸ
τοῦ Παύλου, καὶ τὸν περὶ ἀγά-

CHAP. VIII.

While Paul was preaching
this sermon in the church
which was in the house of O-
nefiphorus, a certain virgin
named THECLA (whose
mother's name was Theoclia,
and who was betrothed to a
man named Thamyras) sat at
a certain window in her
house, from whence, by the
advantage of a window in the
house where Paul was, she
both night and day heard

πης, καὶ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ πίστεως, καὶ προσευχῆς· καὶ ἐκ ἀπένευσεν ἀπὸ τῆς θυρίδος, ἀλλὰ τῇ πίστει ὑπήγετο ὑπερευφραινομένη. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ βλέψασα πολλὰς γυναῖκας καὶ παρθένους εἰσπορευομένας πρὸς τὸν Παῦλον, ἐπεπόθει καὶ αὐτῇ καταξιοθῆναι καὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον ᾗναι Παύλῳ, καὶ ἀκέειν τὸν τῷ Χριστῷ λόγον· ἐδέκω γὰρ αἰκμὴν τὸν χαρακτῆρα Παύλου ἰωράκει, ἀλλὰ τὰς λόγους αὐτῷ ἤκουεν, καὶ μόνον.

CAP. IX.

Ὡς δὲ ἐκ ἀφίστατο ἀπὸ τῆς θυρίδος, ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῆς πέμπει πρὸς τὸν Θάμυριν· ὁ δὲ ἔρχεται περιχαρῆς, ὡς ἦδη λαμβάνων αὐτὴν πρὸς γάμον. Εἶπεν ἔν ὁ Θάμυρις πρὸς Θεοκλίαν· Πῶς με εἰς τὴν Θέκλα; Καὶ εἶπεν Θεοκλία· Καίνόν σοι ἔχω εἰπεῖν διήγημα, Θάμυρι· ἦδη γὰρ ἡμέρας τρεῖς Θέκλα ἀπὸ τῆς θυρίδος ἐκ ἐγείρεται, ἅτε ἐπὶ τὸ φαγεῖν, ἅτε ἐπὶ τὸ πινεῖν· ἀλλὰ ἀτενίζουσα εἰς εὐφρασίαν, ἅτως πρόκειται (l. πρόσκειται) ἀνδρὶ ζήνῳ, [ὅστις] ἀπατηλὸς καὶ ποικίλος λόγους διδάσκει, ὥς

Paul's sermons concerning God, concerning charity, concerning faith in Christ, and concerning prayer; nor would she depart from the window, till with exceeding joy she was subdued to the doctrines of faith. At length, when she saw many women and virgins going in to Paul, she earnestly desired that she might be thought worthy to appear in his presence, and hear the word of Christ; for she had not yet seen Paul's person, but only heard his sermons, and that alone.

CHAP. IX.

But when she would not be prevailed upon to depart from the window, her mother sent to Thamyris, who came with the greatest pleasure, as hoping now to marry her. Accordingly he said to Theoclia, *Where is my Thecla?* Theoclia replied, *Thamyris, I have something very strange to tell you; for Thecla, for the space of three days, will not move from the window, not so much as to eat or drink, but is so intent in hearing the artful and delusive discourses of a certain foreigner, that I perfectly admire, Thamyris, that a young woman of her*
known

με θαυμάζεν, ὅτι ἡ τοσαύτη αἰδῶς τῆς παρθένου χαλεπῶς ἐνοχλεῖται, Θάμυρι. Ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ἄτος τὴν Ἰκονίαν πόλιν ἀνασεῖι, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν σὴν Θέκλαν. Πᾶσαι γὰρ αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ οἱ νῖοι εἰσέρχονται πρὸς τὸν, διδασκόμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῆς. Ἐτι δὲ φησὶν, ἵνα καὶ μόνον Θεὸν φοβῆσθαι, καὶ ζῆν ἀγνῶς.

know modesty, will suffer herself to be so prevailed upon, For that man has disturbed the whole city of Iconium, and even your Thecla, among others. All the women and young men flock to him to receive his doctrine; who, besides all the rest, tells them, that there is but one God, who alone is to be worshipped, and that we ought to live in chastity.

CAP. X.

Ἐτι δὲ καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ μου Θέκλα, ὡς ἀράχνη ἐπὶ τῆς θυρίδος δεδεμένη, τοῖς Παύλου λόγοις κρατεῖται, ἐπιθυμῶσα αὐτῆς καὶ πάσαις θανῶ. Ἀτενίζει γὰρ τοῖς λεγομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐάλω παρθένος. Ἀλλὰ πρόσελθε, καὶ λάλησον αὐτῇ· σοὶ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡρμοσμένη. Καὶ προσελθὼν ὁ Θάμυρις, ἅμα μὲν φιλῶν αὐτήν, ἅμα δὲ φοβούμενος τὴν ἐκπληξιν αὐτῆς, εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτήν· Θέκλα, ἐμοὶ μνηστευθεῖσα, τί τοιαύτη κάθησαι κάτω βλέπουσα; καὶ ποῖόν σε πάθος κατέχει ἐκπληκτον; ἐπιγράφῃ πρὸς τὸν Θάμυριν, καὶ αἰσχύνῃ. Ἐτι δὲ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ τὰ αὐτὰ λέγουσα· Τέκνον, τί τοιαύτη κάτω βλέ-

CHAP. X.

Notwithstanding this, my daughter Thecla, like a spider's web fastened to the window, is captivated by the discourses of Paul, and attends upon them with prodigious eagerness, and vast delight; and thus, by attending on what he says, the young woman is seduced. Now then do you go, and speak to her, for she is betrothed to you. Accordingly Thamyris went, and having saluted her, and taking care not to surprize her, he said, Thecla, my spouse, why sittest thou in this melancholy posture? What strange impressions are made upon thee? Turn to Thamyris, and blush. Her mother also spake to her after the same manner, and said, Child, why dost thou sit so

πᾶσα κάθῃσαι, μηδὲν ἀπο-
κρινομένη, ὡς παραπλήξ; Καὶ
οἱ μὲν ἔκλαιον δανῶς· Θάμυ-
ρις μὲν, γυναικὸς ἀγοχῶν,
Θεοκλία δὲ τέκνου, αἱ δὲ παι-
δίσκαι κυρίας· πολλὴ ἦν συγ-
χυστις ἦν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ πένθους.
Καὶ τῶν πάντων γενομένων,
Θέκλα ἔκ ἀπεσφράφη, ἀλλ' ἦν
πρὸς τὸν λόγον Παύλου ἀπο-
βλέψασα. Ὁ δὲ Θάμυρις
ἀναπηδήσας, ἐξῆλθεν εἰς τὸ
ἄμφοδον, καὶ παρετήρηε τὰς
εἰσερχομένους πρὸς τὸν Παῦ-
λον, καὶ τὰς ἐξερχομένους· καὶ
ἶδεν δύο ἄνδρας πρὸς αὐτὰς
μαχομένους πικρῶς· καὶ εἶπεν
αὐτοῖς·

*melancholy, and, like one asto-
nished, makest no reply? Then
they wept exceedingly; Tha-
myris, that he had lost his
spouse; Theoclia, that she
had lost her daughter; and
the maids, that they had lost
their mistress; and there was
an universal mourning in the
family. But all these things
made no impression upon
Thecla, so as to incline her
so much as to turn to them,
and take notice of them; for
she still regarded the dis-
courses of Paul. Then Tha-
myris ran forth into the street,
to observe who they were that
went in to Paul, and came
out from him; and he saw
two men engaged in a very
warm dispute, and said to
them;*

CAP. XI.

Ἄνδρες, τί ἔχετε; εἵπατέ
μοι· καὶ τίς ἄνθρωπος, ὁ ἔσω μεθ'
ὑμῶν, πλανῶν ψυχὰς ἀνθρώ-
πων, νέων καὶ παρθένων, ἵνα
γάμοι μὴ γίνωνται, ἀλλὰ
ἔτις μένωσιν; ὑπισχνῆμαι
ὑμῖν δεῖναι χρήματα πολλὰ,
εἰάν εἴπητέ μοι περὶ αὐτῶν· εἰ-
μὲ γὰρ πρῶτος τῆς πόλεως.
Δημῶς δὲ καὶ Ἑρμογένης εἶ-
παν πρὸς αὐτόν· Τίς μὲν

CHAP. XI.

*Sirs, what business have you
here? and who is that man
within, belonging to you, who
deludes the minds of men, both
young men and virgins, per-
suading them, that they ought
not to marry, but continue
as they are? I promise to give
you a considerable sum, if ye
will give me a just account of
him; for I am the chief person
of this city.* Demas and Her-
mogenes replied, *We cannot*

ἔσιν, ἐκ οἷδαμεν ἄτως· γερῇ
 δὲ νέες γυναικῶν, καὶ παρ-
 θένας ἀνδρῶν, λέγων· Ἄλλως
 ἀνάσσεις ἐκ ἔσιν, ἐὰν μὴ ἀγ-
 νοὶ μενεῖτε, μήδε τῇ σαρκὰ
 ὑμῶν μολύνετε.

*so exactly tell who he is; but
 this we know, that he de-
 prives young men of their (in-
 tended) wives, and virgins of
 their (intended) husbands, by
 teaching, There can be no
 future resurrection, unless ye
 continue in chastity, and do
 not defile your flesh.*

CAP. XII.

CHAP. XII.

Ὁ δὲ Θάμυρις εἶπεν αὐ-
 τοῖς· Δεῦτε, ἄνδρες, μετ' ἐμῶ
 εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου, καὶ ἀναπαύ-
 σασθε πρὸς με. Καὶ ἀπῆλ-
 θον εἰς πολύτιμον δεῖπνον, καὶ
 εἰς οἶνον πολὺν, καὶ πλεόντων
 πολὺν· καὶ τράπεζαν λαμ-
 πρὰν παρέθηκεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ
 ἐπότισεν αὐτὰς ὁ Θάμυρις,
 φιλῶν τὴν Θέκλαν, καὶ θέλων
 τυχεῖν γυναικός. Καὶ εἶπεν
 αὐτοῖς ὁ Θάμυρις· Ἄνδρες, εἴ-
 πατέ μοι, τίς ἐστιν ἡ διδασ-
 καλία αὐτῶ, ἵνα καὶ γὰρ ἴδω·
 ἔ γὰρ μικρῶς ἀγωνιῶ περὶ
 τῆς Θέκλας, ὅτι φιλεῖ τὸν
 ξένον, καὶ σεβῆμαι γυναικός.
danger of losing my intended wife.

Then said Thamyris, *Come
 along with me to my house, and
 refresh yourselves.* So they
 went to a very splendid enter-
 tainment, where there was
 wine in abundance, and very
 rich provision. They were
 brought to a table richly
 spread, and made to drink
 plentifully by Thamyris, on
 account of the love he had for
 Thecla, and his desire to mar-
 ry her. Then Thamyris said,
*I desire ye would inform me
 what the doctrines of this Paul
 are, that I may understand
 them; for I am under no small
 concern about Thecla, seeing
 she so delights in that stran-
 ger's discourses, that I am in*

CAP. XIII.

CHAP. XIII.

Εἶπαν δὲ Δημᾶς καὶ Ἑρ-
 μογένης, ὡς ἐξ ἐνὸς στόματος·
 Θάμυρι, προσάγαγε αὐτὸν
before

Then Demas and Hermo-
 genes answered both together,
 and said, *Let him be brought*

τῷ ἡγεμόνι Κατελλίῳ, (Ι. Κα-
σελλίῳ) ὡς ἀναπεύθοντα τὰς
ὄχλους ἐπὶ καινῇ διδασκαλίᾳ
Χριστιανῶν, καὶ κατὰ τὸ δόγ-
μα τῆ Καίσαρος ἀπολεῖ αὐ-
τὸν, καὶ σὺ ἔξεις τὴν γυναῖκά
σε, καὶ ἡμεῖς διδάξομεν, ὅτι
ἦν λέγει ἔτος ἀνάσασιν γε-
νέσθαι, ἥδη γέγονεν ἐφ' οἷς ἔ-
χομεν τέκνοις, καὶ ἀνέστημεν,
Θεὸν ἐπιγινόντες. Ὁ δὲ Θά-
μυρις ἀκήσας παρ' αὐτῶν
ταῦτα, καὶ πωλησθεὶς ζήτησ
καὶ θυμῷ, ὁρᾷ ἀνάσας, ἀπ-
ῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον Ὀνησιφόρου,
μετὰ ἀρχόντων, καὶ δημοσίων,
καὶ ὄχλος ἱκανὸς μετὰ ξύλων,
λέγων τῷ Παύλῳ· Διέφθεις,
τὴν Ἰκονιέων πόλιν, ἐτι δὲ καὶ
τὴν ἡγεμομένην μοι Θεκλαν,
ἵνα μὴ θελήσῃ μοι γῆμαι·
ἀγωμεν ἔν ἐπὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα
Κασέλλιον. Καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄ-
χλος λέγει· Ἀπάγαγε τὸν
μάγον, διέφθειρε γὰρ ἡμῶν
πάντας τὰς γυναῖκας, καὶ συν-
επίσθησαν αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ ὄ-
χλοι.

before the governor Castellius,
as one who endeavours to per-
suade the people into the new
religion of the Christians, and
he, according to the order of
Cæsar, will put him to death,
by which means you will obtain
your wife; while we at the
same time will teach her, that
the resurrection which he
speaks of, is already come, and
consists in our having children;
and that we then arose again,
when we came to the know-
ledge of God. Thamyris hav-
ing this account from them,
was filled with hot resent-
ment; and rising early in the
morning, he went to the
house of Onesiphorus, attend-
ed by the magistrates, the
jailor, and a great multitude
of people with slaves, and
said to Paul, *Thou hast per-
verted the city of Iconium, and,
among the rest, Thecla, who is
betrothed to me, so that now
she will not marry me. Thou
shalt therefore go with us to
the governor Castellius. And
all the multitude cried out,
Away with this impostor [ma-
gician]; for he has perverted
the minds of our wives, and all the people hearken to him.*

CAP. XIV.

Καὶ σὰς πρὸ τῆ βήματος
ὁ Θάμυρις, κραυγῇ μεγάλην

CHAP. XIV.

Then Thamyris standing
before the governor's judg-
ment-

εἶπεν· Ἀνδύπατε, ὁ ἀνδρῶπος
 ἔτος ἐκ οἷδα πόθεν ἐστίν, καὶ
 ἐκ ἐγὼ γαμῖν τὰς παρθένας·
 εἰπάτω ἐν ἐπὶ σὺ, τίνος ἕνεκεν
 ταῦτα διδάσκει. Ὁ δὲ Δη-
 μάς καὶ Ἑρμογένης εἶπον τῷ
 Θαμύριδι· Λέγε αὐτὸν Χρι-
 στιανόν, καὶ ἀπολείται συντό-
 μως. Ὁ δὲ ἡγεμὼν ἔφησεν τὴν
 διάνοιαν αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐκάλεσε
 τὸν Παῦλον, λέγων· Τίς εἶ;
 ὅ, τι διδάσκεις; ἢ γὰρ μι-
 κρῶς σε κατηγοροῦσιν. Καὶ
 ἤρην τὴν φωνὴν αὐτῇ ὁ Παῦ-
 λος, λέγων· Εἰ ἐγὼ σήμερον
 ἀνακρίνωμαι, τί διδάσκω, ἁ-
 κισσον, ἀνδύπατε· Θεὸς ζηλω-
 τῆς, Θεὸς ἐκδικήσεων, Θεὸς
 ἀπροσδεῆς, χρῆζων τῆς τῶν
 ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίας, ἐπεμψέν
 με, ὅπως ἀπὸ τῆς φθορᾶς καὶ
 τῆς ἀκαθαρσίας ἀποσπάσω
 αὐτοὺς, καὶ πάσης ἡδονῆς τε
 καὶ θανάτου, ὅπως μηκέτι ἁ-
 μαρτάνωσιν. Διὸ ἐπέμψεν ὁ
 Θεὸς τὸν ἐαυτῆ παῖδα Ἰησοῦν
 Χριστόν, ὃν ἐγὼ εὐαγγελίζομαι,
 καὶ διδάσκω ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἔχειν
 τὴν ἐλπίδα τὰς ἀνθρώπων· ὅς
 μόνος συνεπάθησε πλανωμένῳ
 κόσμῳ, ἵνα μηκέτι ὑπὸ κρίσειν

ment-seat, spake with a loud
 voice in the following man-
 ner: *O governor, I know not
 whence this man cometh; but
 he is one who teaches that ma-
 trimony is unlawful. Com-
 mand him therefore to declare
 before you for what reasons he
 publishes such doctrines.* (While
 he was saying thus) Demas
 and Hermogenes (whispered to
 Thamyris, and) said; *Say that
 he is a Christian, and he will
 presently be put to death.* But
 the governor was more de-
 liberate, and calling to Paul,
 he said, *Who art thou? What
 dost thou teach? They seem to
 lay gross crimes to thy charge.*
 Paul then spake with a loud
 voice, saying, *As I am now
 called to give an account, O
 governor, of my doctrines, I
 desire your audience.* ‘That
 ‘God, who is a God of ven-
 ‘geance, and who stands in
 ‘need of nothing but the sal-
 ‘vation of his creatures, has
 ‘sent me to reclaim them
 ‘from their wickedness and
 ‘corruptions, from all (sin-
 ‘ful) pleasures, and from
 ‘death; and to persuade them
 ‘to sin no more. On this
 ‘account, God sent his Son
 ‘Jesus Christ, whom I preach,

‘and in whom I instruct men to place their hopes, as that
 ‘person who only had such compassion on the deluded world,
 ‘that

ᾧσιν, ἀνθύπατε, ἀλλὰ πῶς
 ἔχωσιν, καὶ φόβον Θεῶ, καὶ
 γνῶσιν σεμνότητος, καὶ ἀγά-
 πην ἀληθείας. Εἰ ἢ ἐγὼ τὰ
 ὑπὸ Θεῶ μοι ἀποκεκαλυμμένα
 διδάσκω, τί ἀδικῶ, ἀνθύπατε;
 Ὁ δὲ ἀνθύπατος ἀκέσας ταῦ-
 τα, ἐκέλευσεν δεῖναι τὸν
 Παῦλον, καὶ εἰς φυλακὴν βλη-
 θῆναι, μέχρις ἂν εὐσκολήσας
 ἀκέσῃται. αὐτῷ ἐπιμελέεσθον.
 Ἡ δὲ Θεκλα νυκτὸς περιελο-
 μένη τὰ ἑαυτῆς ἐνώτια, ἔδωκεν
 τῷ πυλωρῷ, καὶ ἤνοιξεν αὐτῇ
 τὰς θύρας, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς
 τὴν φυλάκην· καὶ δεῖσα τῷ
 δεσμοφύλακι κάτοπτρον ἀργύ-
 ρεον, εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς τὸν Παῦ-
 λον· καὶ καθέσθαι παρὰ
 τῆς πόδας αὐτῆς, ἤκουσεν τὰ
 μεγαλεῖα τῆς Θεῶ· καὶ ὡς ἔ-
 δειν ἔδωκε (1. ἐδεδίει) πάσ-
 χειν ὁ Παῦλος, ἀλλὰ τῇ τῆς
 Θεῶ βοηθείᾳ παρρησίᾳ ἐπολι-
 τεύετο, καὶ κείνης ἠύξανεν ἡ
 πίσις, καταφιλάσας τὰ δεσμά
 αὐτῆς.

‘that it might not, O go-
 vernor, be condemned, but
 ‘have faith, the fear of God,
 ‘the knowledge of religion,
 ‘and the love of truth. So
 ‘that if I only teach those
 ‘things which I have receiv-
 ‘ed by revelation from God,
 ‘where is my crime?’ When
 the governor heard this, he
 ordered Paul to be bound,
 and to be put in prison, till
 he should be more at leisure
 to hear him more fully. But,
 in the night, Thecla taking
 off her ear-rings, gave them
 to the turnkey of the prison,
 who then opened the doors to
 her, and let her in; and when
 she made a present of a silver
 looking-glass to the jailor, was
 allowed to go into the room
 where Paul was; then she sat
 down at his feet, and heard
 from him the great things of
 God. And as she perceived
 Paul not to be afraid of suf-
 fering, but that by divine as-
 sistance he behaved himself
 with courage, her faith so far
 increased, that she kissed his
 chains.

CAP. XV.

Ὡς δὲ ἐζητεῖτο Θεκλα ὑπὸ
 τῶν Ἰουδαίων (1. ex Meta-
 phrasie οἰκείων) καὶ Θαμύ-
 ριδος, ὡς ἀπολλυμένη, κατὰ

CHAP. XV.

At length Thecla was
 missed, and sought for by the
 family and by Thamyras in
 every street, as though she
 had

τὰς ὁδὸς ἐδιώκετο. Καὶ τὶς τῶν συνδύλων τῷ πυλωρῷ ἐμήνυσεν αὐτοῖς, εἰπὼν ὅτι νυκτὸς ἐξῆλθε. Καὶ ἀνέτασαν τὸν πυλωρὸν, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι πεπόρευται πρὸς τὸν ξένον, εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον. Καὶ ἀπῆλθον, καθὼς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ εὗρον αὐτήν· καὶ ἐξελθόντες ἐκείθεν, τὰς ὄχλους ἐπεσπάσαντο, καὶ τῷ ἡγεμόνι ἐνεφάνισαν τὸ γεγονός. Καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἄγεσθαι τὸν Παῦλον ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα· ἡ δὲ Θέκλα ἐκυλίετο ἐπὶ τῷ τόπῳ, ὃ ἐδίδασκε καθημέμενος ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ ὁ Παῦλος. Ὁ δὲ ἡγεμὼν ἐκέλευσεν κακείνην ἄγεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα· ἡ δὲ μετὰ χαρᾶς ἀπῆε ἀγαλλομένη. Ὁ δὲ ὄχλος, προσαχθέντος τῷ Παύλῳ, πάλιν περισοτέρως ἐβόα· Μάγος ἐστίν, αἶρε αὐτόν. Ἡδῶς δὲ ἤκουσεν ὁ ἀνθύπατος τῷ Παύλῳ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἔργοις τῷ Χριστῷ· καὶ συμβούλιον ποιήσας, ἐπάλεσε τὴν Θέκλαν, λέγων αὐτῇ· Διὰ τί ἔγαμεις κατὰ τὸν νόμον Ἰκονιέων τῷ Θαμύριδι; Ἡ δὲ εἰσῆκει, Παύλῳ ἀτενί-

had been lost; till one of the porter's fellow-servants told them, that she had gone out in the night-time. Then they examined the porter, and he told them, that she was gone to the prison to the strange man. They went therefore according to his direction, and there found her; and when they came out, they got a mob together, and went and told the governor all that happened. Upon which he ordered Paul to be brought before his judgment-seat. Thecla in the mean time lay wallowing on the ground in the prison, in that same place where Paul had sat to teach her; upon which the governor also ordered her to be brought before his judgment-seat; which summons she received with joy, and went. When Paul was brought thither, the mob with more vehemence cried out, *He is a magician, let him die.* Nevertheless, the governor attended with pleasure upon Paul's discourses of the holy works of Christ; and, after a council called, he summoned Thecla, and said to her, *Why do you not, according to*

the law of the Iconians, marry Thamyris? She stood still, with her eyes fixed upon Paul; and finding she made no reply,

ζῆσα· αὐτῆς δὲ εἶδεν ἀποκρι-
 νομένης, Θεοκλία ἡ μήτηρ
 αὐτῆς ἀνέκραγε, λέγουσα·
 Κατάκαίε τὴν ἄνομον, κατά-
 καίε τὴν ἄνυμφον ἐν μέσῳ τῆ
 θεάτρῳ, ἵνα πᾶσαι αἱ ὑπὸ
 τέτῳ διδασκόμεναι γυναῖκες
 φοβηθῶσιν. Καὶ ὁ ἡγεμὼν
 ἔπαθεν μεγάλως, καὶ τὸν μὲν
 Παῦλον φραγελλώσας ἐξέβαλε
 τῆς πόλεως· τὴν δὲ Θέκλαν
 κατέκρινεν πυρίκαυσον. Καὶ
 εὐθὺς ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἀναστὰς, ἀπ-
 ῆλθεν εἰς τὸ θέατρον· καὶ
 πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν
 ἀνάγκην τῆς θείας. Ἡ δὲ
 Θέκλα, καθάπερ ἀμνὸς ἐν ἐ-
 ρῆμῳ περισκοπεῖ τὸν ποιμένα,
 ἔτως καὶ κίνη τὸν Παῦλον· καὶ
 ἐμβλέψας εἰς τὸν ὄχλον ἶδεν
 τὸν Κύριον καθήμενον ὡς τὸν
 Παῦλον, καὶ εἶπεν ἐν ἑαυτῇ·
 Ἀνυπομονήτε με ἕως, ἦλθεν
 ὁ Παῦλος θεάσασθαι με. Καὶ
 προσεῖχεν αὐτῷ ἀτενίζουσα.
 Ὁ δὲ εἰς ἑρὰν ἀπῆκε θεω-
 ρήσης αὐτῆς. Οἱ δὲ παῖδες
 καὶ αἱ παρθένοι ἤνεκον ξύλα
 καὶ χόρτον, ἵνα ἡ Θέκλα καῖῃ.
 Ὡς δὲ εἰσῆχθη γυμνῇ, ἰδά-
 κρυσεν ὁ ἡγεμὼν, καὶ ἰθαύ-
 μασεν τὴν δύναμιν τῆ κάλ-
 λος αὐτῆς. Ἐβρωσαν δὲ τὰ
 ξύλα, καὶ ἐξέλευσαν αὐτὴν οἱ

reply, Theoclia her mother
 cried out, saying, *Let the un-
 just creature be burnt; let her
 be burnt in the midst of the
 theatre, for refusing Thamyras,
 that all women may learn from
 her to avoid such practices.*
 Then the governor was ex-
 ceedingly concerned, and or-
 dered Paul to be whipt out
 of the city, and Thecla to be
 burnt. So the governor a-
 rose, and went immediately
 into the theatre; and all the
 people went forth to see the
 dismal sight. But Thecla,
 just as a lamb in the wilder-
 ness looks every way to see
 his shepherd, looked around
 for Paul; and as she was
 looking upon the multitude,
 she saw the Lord (Jesus) in
 the likeness of Paul, and said
 to herself, *Paul is come to see
 me in my distressed circum-
 stances.* And she fixed her
 eyes upon him; but he in-
 stantly ascended up to heaven,
 while she looked on him.
 Then the young men and
 women brought wood and
 straw for the burning of
 Thecla; who, being brought
 naked to the stake, extorted
 tears from the governor, with
 surprize beholding the great-
 ness of her beauty. And
 when they had placed the

wood

δῆμοι ἐπιβῆναι τῇ πυρᾷ· ἡ δὲ τὸν τύπον σαυρᾶ ποιησάμενη, ἐπέθη τῶν ξύλων. Οἱ δὲ δῆμοι ὑψήσαν τὸ πῦρ· καὶ μεγάλης πυρᾶς ἐκλαμψάσης, ἐχ ἤφατο αὐτῆς τὸ πῦρ. Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς σπλαγχνισθεὶς ἐπ' αὐτήν, ἤχον ὑπόγειον ἐποίησεν· καὶ νεφέλη ἄνωθεν ὑπεσκέασεν ὕδατος πλήρης καὶ χαλαζης· καὶ ἐξεχύθη πᾶν τὸ κύτος τῆ ἐδάφους, ὥς πολλὰς κινδυνεῦσαι καὶ ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ τὸ μὲν πῦρ σβεσθῆναι, τὴν δὲ Θεῖαν σωθῆναι.

wood in order, the people commanded her to go upon it; which she did, first making the sign of the cross. Then the people set fire to the pile; though the flame was exceeding large, it did not touch her; for God took compassion on her, and caused a great eruption from the earth beneath, and a cloud from above to pour down great quantities of rain and hail, infomuch that by the rupture of the earth, very many were in great danger, and some were killed, the fire was extinguished, and Thecla preserved.

CAP. XVI.

Ἦν δὲ ὁ Παῦλος νηστεύων μετὰ Ὀνησιφόρου καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν τέκνων, ἐν μνημείῳ ἐν ὁδῷ, ἐν ᾗ ἀπὸ Ἰκονίης εἰς Δάφνην ἐπορεύοντο. Ἡνίκα δὲ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐποίησαν νηστεύοντες, εἶπαν οἱ παῖδες τῷ Παύλῳ· Πάτερ, πεινῶμεν, καὶ ἐκ ἔχομεν πόθεν ἄρτους ἀγοράσαι· ἦν γὰρ καταλείψας τὰ τῆ κόσμου ὁ Ὀνησιφόρος, καὶ τῷ Παύλῳ ἠκολέθη πανοικί. Παῦλος δὲ ἀποδυσάμενος τὸν ἐπενδύτην αὐτῆς, εἶπεν τῷ παιδίῳ·

CHAP. XVI.

In the mean time Paul, together with Onesiphorus, his wife and children, was keeping a fast in a certain cave, which was in the road from Iconium to Daphne. And when they had fasted for several days, the children said to Paul, *Father, we are hungry, and have not wherewithal to buy bread*; for Onesiphorus had left all his substance, to follow Paul with his family. Then Paul, taking off his coat, said to the boy, *Go, child, and buy bread,*

and

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and bring it hither. But while the boy was buying the bread, he saw his neighbour Thecla, and was surprized, and said to her, *Thecla, where are you going?* She replied, *I am in pursuit of Paul, having been delivered from the flames.* The boy then said, *I will bring you to him, for he is under great concern on your account, and has been in prayer and fasting these six days.*

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When Thecla came to the cave, she found Paul upon his knees praying, and saying, *O holy Father, O Lord Jesus Christ, grant that the fire may not touch Thecla; but be her helper, for she is thy servant.* Thecla then standing behind him, cried out in the following words: *O sovereign Lord, Creator of heaven and earth, the Father of thy beloved and holy Son, I praise thee that thou hast preserved me from the fire, to see Paul again.* Paul then arose, and when he saw her, said, *O God, who searchest the heart, Father of my Lord Jesus Christ, I praise thee that thou hast answered my prayer.*

CHAP.

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VOL. II.

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Then Paul sent back Onesiphorus and his family to their own home, and taking Thecla along with him, went for Antioch; and as soon as they came into the city, a certain Syrian, named Alexander, a magistrate in the city, who had done many considerable services for the city

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VOL. II.

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Mater, Theclam ancillam Christi habeto in loco meo, et pete ab ea, ut oret pro me, ut transferar in locum refrigerii. Tunc Trifina plangebatur, dicens: Filia Falconilla mihi dixit, habes Theclam in loco meo; quapropter precor, Thecla, ora pro filia mea, ut transferatur in locum refrigerii, et ad vitam æternam. His auditis, Thecla statim oravit ad Dominum, dicens: Domine Deus cœli et terræ, Jesu Christe, fili Altissimi, da ut filia ejus Falconilla vivat in æternum. Tunc Trifina hæc audiens, amplius lugebat, dicens: O injusta judicia! et O indignum nefas! talem speciem ad bestias mitti!

ther, and said; Mother, let the young woman, Thecla, be reputed by you as your daughter in my stead; and desire her that she would pray for me, that I may be translated to a state of happiness. Upon which Trifina, with a mournful air, said, My daughter Falconilla has appeared to me, and ordered me to receive you in her room; wherefore I desire, Thecla, that you would pray for my daughter, that she may be translated into a state of happiness, and to life eternal. When Thecla heard this, she immediately prayed to the Lord, and said: O Lord God of heaven and earth, Jesus Christ, thou Son of the Most High, grant that her daughter Falconilla may live for ever. Trifina hearing this, groaned again, and said: O unrighteous judgments! O unreasonable wickedness! that such a creature should (again) be cast to the beasts!

CAP. XXI.

Et ut lux orta est, ecce veniens Alexander ad domum Trifinæ, dixit: Jam præses sedit, et populus expectat; produc noxiam foris. Tunc Trifina exsiluit in faciem ejus, et conturbavit eum, ita ut fugeret. Erat autem ipsa Trifina ex regalibus, et cœpit

CHAP. XXI.

On the morrow, at break of day, Alexander came to Trifina's house, and said: *The governor and the people are waiting; bring the criminal forth.* But Trifina ran in so violently upon him, that he was affrighted, and ran away. Trifina was one of the royal family; and she thus expressed

flere, et dicere : Ecce duplex luctus in domo mea, et nemo est, qui adjuvet me, neque quia filia mea mortua est, neque quia Theclam defendere non possum. Et nunc, Domine Deus, adjuva Theclam, ancillam tuam. Et dum hæc Trifina prosequeretur, misit præses stratorem suum, ut adduceretur Thecla. Cujus manum apprehendens Trifina prosequeretur, dicens : Falconillam ad monumentum duxi, Theclam vero ad bestias duco. Hæc audiens Thecla lacrymata est, et orans dixit : Domine Deus, cui ego credidi, et ad quem confugi, redde mercedem Trifinæ, et quia mihi condoluit, et quia mundam me servavit. Erat autem fremitus magnus in amphitheatro, et rugitus bestiarum, et clamor populi dicentis : Induc noxiam. Mulieres vero clamabant, dicentes : Nunc tollatur hæc civitas propter talem iniquitatem, et in nobis omnibus da talem sententiam, præses. O malum judicium ! O crudele spectaculum !

Τῶν δὲ λεγουσῶν Ἀρδήτω ἡ πόλις ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνομίᾳ ταύτῃ· αἶρε πάσας ἡμᾶς, ἀνθύπατε· πικρὸν θάναμα, κακὴ κρίσις.

pressed her sorrow, and said : *Alas ! I have trouble in my house on two accounts, and there is no one who will relieve me, either under the loss of my daughter, or my being unable to save Thecla. But now, O Lord God, be thou the helper of Thecla thy servant.* While she was thus engaged, the governor sent one of his own officers to bring Thecla. Trifina took her by the hand, and, going with her, said : *I went with Falconilla to her grave, and now must go with Thecla to the beasts.* When Thecla heard this, she weeping prayed, and said : *O Lord God, whom I have made my confidence and refuge, reward Trifina for her compassion to me, and preserving my chastity.* Upon this there was a great noise in the amphitheatre ; the beasts roared, and the people cried out, *Bring in the criminal.* But the women cried out, and said : *Let the whole city suffer for such crimes ; and order all of us, O governor, to the same punishment. O unjust judgment ! O cruel sight !*

Others said, *Let the whole city be destroyed for this vile action. Kill us all, O governor. O cruel sight ! O unrighteous judgment.*

CAP. XXII.

Ἡ δὲ Θέκλα ἐκ χειρὸς Τρυφαίνης ληφθεῖσα, ἐξεδύθη γυμνή· καὶ ἔλαβεν διάζωμα, καὶ ἐβλήθη εἰς τὸ σάδιον. Καὶ λέοντες καὶ ἄρκτοι ἀπελύθησαν ἐπ' αὐτήν· καὶ ἡ πικρὰ λέαινα εἰσδραμῶσα ἐπ' αὐτήν, παρὰ τὰς πόδας τῆς Θέκλης ἀνεκλίθη. Ὁ δὲ ὄχλος τῶν γυναικῶν ἀνεβόησεν· καὶ ἄρκτος ἔδραμεν ἐπ' αὐτήν, καὶ ἡ λέαινα ὑπήντησεν καὶ διέρρηξεν αὐτήν. Καὶ πάλιν λέων δεδοαγμένος τρώγει τὰς ἀνθρώπους, ὃς καὶ ἦν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἔδραμεν ἐπ' αὐτήν· καὶ ἡ λέαινα συμπλέξασα τῷ λέοντι, συνανηρέθη αὐτῷ. Μειζόνως δὲ ἐπένησαν αἱ γυναῖκες, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡ βοηθὸς αὐτῇ λέαινα ἀπέθανεν. Τότε βάλλουσι πολλὰ θηρία, ἐσώσης τῆς Θέκλης, καὶ ἐκτετακυίας τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῆς εἰς τὸν ἔρανόν, καὶ προσευχομένης. Ὡς δὲ ἐτέλεσε τὴν προσευχὴν αὐτῆς ἡ Θέκλα, ἐγράφη, καὶ ἶδεν ὄρυγμα πλῆρες ὕδατος, καὶ εἶπεν· Νῦν καιρὸς τῷ λασασθαί με· καὶ ἔβαλλεν ἑαυ-

CHAP. XXII.

Then Thecla was taken out of the hand of Trifina, stripped naked, had a girdle put on, and thrown into the place appointed for fighting with the beasts: and the lions and the bears were let loose upon her. But a she-lion, which was of all the most fierce, ran to Thecla, and fell down at her feet. Upon which the multitude of women shouted aloud. Then a she-bear ran fiercely towards her; but the she-lion met the bear, and tore it in pieces. Again, a he-lion, who had been wont to devour men, and which belonged to Alexander, ran towards her; but the she-lion encountered the he-lion, and they killed each other. Then the women were under a greater concern, because the she-lion, which had helped Thecla, was dead. Afterwards they brought out many other wild beasts; but Thecla stood with her hands stretched towards heaven, and prayed; and when she had done praying, she turned about, and saw a pit of water, and said, *Now it is a proper time for me to be baptized.* Accordingly she threw herself

τὴν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, λέγουσα· Ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σε, Κύριε μου Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὑγέρα ἡμέρα βαπτίζομαι. Καὶ ἰδῆσαι αἱ γυναῖκες, καὶ ὁ ὄχλος, ἔκραζον λέγοντες· Μὴ βάλης σεαυτὴν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ· ὥστε καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα δακρύσαι, ὅτι τοιοῦτον κάλλος αἱ φῶκαι ἔμελλον κατατρώγειν.

CAP. XXIII.

Ἡ δὲ Θέκλα ἔβαλεν ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Αἱ δὲ φῶκαι πυρὸς ἀστραπῆς φέγγος ἰδῆσαι, νεκραὶ πᾶσαι ἀνέπλευσαν· καὶ ἦν περὶ τὴν Θέκλαν νεφέλη πυρὸς, ὡς μηδὲ τὰ θηρία ἄπτεσθαι αὐτῆς, μήτε γυμνὴν αὐτὴν θεωρεῖσθαι. Αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες, ἄλλων πάλιν θηρίων βαλλομένων ἐπ' αὐτὴν φοβερῶν, ἠλάλαξαν· καὶ ἡ μὲν ἔβαλεν νάρκωτον, ἡ δὲ κασσίαν, ἡ δὲ ἄμωμον, ἡ δὲ μύρον, ὡς εἶναι πολὺ πλῆθος, πολὺ μύρον. Πάντα δὲ τὰ βληθέντα θηρία ὡς ὕπνω κατεχόμενα, ἔχ' ἤψαντο αὐτῆς· ὥστε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰπεῖν τῷ

herself into the water, and said, *In thy name, O my Lord Jesus Christ, I am this last day baptized.* The women and the people seeing this, cried out, and said, *Do not throw yourself into the water.* And the governor himself cried out, to think that the fish (sea-calves) were like to devour so much beauty.

CHAP. XXIII.

Notwithstanding all this, Thecla threw herself into the water in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. But the fish (sea-calves), when they saw the lightning and fire, were killed, and swam dead upon the surface of the water, and a cloud of fire surrounded Thecla; so that as the beasts could not come near her, so the people could not see her nakedness. Yet they turned other wild beasts upon her; upon which they made a very mournful outcry; and some of them scattered spikenard, others cassia, others amomus (a sort of spikenard, or the herb Jerusalem, or ladies-rose) others ointment; so that the quantity of ointment was large, in proportion to

the number of people; and upon this all the beasts lay as though they had been fast asleep, and did not touch Thecla.

ἡγεμόνι· Ταύρους ἔχω λίαν φοβερούς· ἐκείνοις προσδήσωμεν αὐτήν. Καὶ συγνάσας ὁ ἡγεμὼν, εἶπεν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· Ποίει δὲ θέλεις. Καὶ ἔδθησαν τὴν Θέκλαν ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν μέσον τῶν ταύρων· καὶ ὑπὸ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα τῶν ταύρων πεπρωμένα σίδερα ὑπέδηκαν, ἵνα ἐπὶ πλεον ταραχθέντες οἱ ταῦροι, σύρῃσι καὶ ἀποκτείνωσι τὴν δέσμιον Θέκλαν. Οἱ μὲν ἔν τύραννοι (ἰ. ταῦροι) ἤλλοντο βοῶντες φοβερόν. Τῆς δὲ Θέκλας κατέκαυσε ἡ φλόξ τὰ περικείμενα μέλη τῶν ταύρων· καὶ ἦν ὡς ἐδεδεμένη εἰς τὸ γάδιον. Ἡ δὲ Τρύφαινα ἐξέψυξε παρὰ τὰς ἄσκαας, καὶ πάντα ἡ πόλις ἐφοβήθη φόδρα. Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος φοβηθεὶς, ἠρώτησεν τὸν ἡγεμόνα, λέγων· Δέομαί σε, ἐλίσσον καὶ με καὶ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἀπόλυσον τὴν θηριομάχον, μή ποτε καὶ ἡ πόλις σὺν σοὶ καὶ ἐμοὶ ἀπόληται. Ταῦτα γὰρ εἰὼν ἀνύσῃ ὁ Καῖσαρ, τάχα ἀπαλίσκει τὴν πόλιν·

Whereupon Alexander said to the governor, *I have some very terrible bulls; let us bind her to them.* To which the governor, with concern, replied, *You may do what you think fit.* Then they put a cord round Thecla's waist, which bound also her feet, and with it tied her to the bulls, to whose privy-parts they applied red-hot irons, that so they being the more tormented, might more violently drag Thecla about, till they had killed her. The bulls accordingly tore about, making a most hideous noise; but the flame which was about Thecla, burnt off the cords which were fastened to the members of the bulls, and she stood in the middle of the stage, as unconcerned as if she had not been bound. But in the mean time Trifina, who sat upon one of the benches, fainted away (and died); upon which the whole city was under a very great concern. And Alexander himself was afraid, and desired the governor, saying: *I in-*

treat you, take compassion on me and the city, and release this woman, who has fought with the beasts; lest both you and I, and the whole city, be destroyed: for if Caesar should have any account of what has passed now,

ὅτι Τρύφαινα, ἡ βασιλίσσα καὶ συγγενὴς αὐτῇ, παρὰ τοῦ Ἀβασκας ἀπέθανεν. Καὶ ἐκάλεισεν ὁ ἡγεμὼν τὴν Θέκλαν ἐκ μέσων τῶν θηρίων, καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτήν· Τίς εἶ σύ; καὶ τίνα τὰ περὶ σέ, ὅτι εὐδὲ ἐν τῶν θηρίων ἤψατό σε; Καὶ ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῇ Θέκλα· Ἐγὼ δῆλη εἰμὶ Θεοῦ τῆ ζῶντος· τὰ δὲ περὶ ἐμέ, εἰς ὃν πύδοκῃσεν ὁ Θεός, υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐπίστευσα· δι' ὃν εὐδὲ ἐν ἤψατό μου τῶν θηρίων. Οὗτος γὰρ μόνος ἐστὶ σωτηρίας αἰωνίης ὁδός, καὶ ζωῆς ἀθανάτου ὑπόστασις· χαμαζομένοις γὰρ γίνεται καταφύγιον, θλιβομένοις ἄνεσις, ἀπηλπισμένοις ἐλπίς καὶ σκέπη, καὶ ἀπαξαπλῶς, ὃς ἐὰν μὴ πισεύσῃ εἰς αὐτόν, εὐζήσεται, ἀλλὰ ἀποθανεῖται εἰς τὰς αἰῶνας.

he will certainly immediately destroy the city, because Trifina, a person of royal extract, and a relation of his, is dead upon her seat. Upon this the governor called Thecla from among the beasts to him, and said to her: *Who art thou? and what are thy circumstances, that not one of the beasts will touch thee?* Thecla replied to him: *I am a servant of the living God; and as to my state, I am a believer on Jesus Christ his Son, in whom God is well-pleased; and for that reason none of the beasts could touch me. He alone is the way to eternal salvation, and the foundation of eternal life. He is a refuge to those who are in distress; a support to the afflicted, hope and defence to those who are hopeless; and, in a word, all those who do not believe on him, shall not live, but suffer eternal death.*

CHAP. XXIV.

Ταῦτα ἀκήσας ὁ ἡγεμὼν, ἐκέλευσεν ἱμάτια ἐνεχθῆναι, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ· Ἐνδύσαι τὰ ἱμάτια. Ἡ δὲ Θέκλα εἶπεν· Ὁ ἐνδύσας με γυμνὴν ἔσαν ἐν τοῖς θηρίοις Θεός, αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως ἐνδύσῃ σε

CHAP. XXIV.

When the governor heard these things, he ordered her clothes to be brought, and said to her, *Put on your clothes.* Thecla replied: *May that God who clothed me when I was naked among the beasts, in the day of judgment clothe your soul with the robe of salvation,*

σωτηρίαν. Καὶ λαβύσα τὰ ἱμάτια, ἐνεδύσατο· καὶ ἐξέπεμψε ταχέως ἄκτον ὁ ἡγεμὼν, γράψας ἕτως· Θεῖ- κλαν τὴν τῷ Θεῷ δέλῃν ἀπολύω ὑμῖν. Καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ὁμῶς πᾶσαι ἔκραξαν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, καὶ ὑφ' ἐν στόμα ἔδωκαν τῷ Θεῷ αἰνισίῃ, λέγουσαι· Εἰς Θεός, ὁ τῆς Θεκλῆς· εἰς Θεός, ὁ σώσας Θεκλαν· ὥς ἀπὸ τῆς φωνῆς αὐτῶν σεισθῆναι πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὴν Τρυφαίναν εὐαγγελισθεῖσαν ἀναστῆναι, ἀπαντῆσαι μετὰ ὅχλου, καὶ περιπλακῆναι τῇ Θεκλῃ, καὶ εἰπεῖν αὐτῇ· Νῦν πιστεύω, ὅτι νεκροὶ ἐγείρονται· οὖν πιστεύω, ὅτι τὸ τέκνον με ζῇ. Δεῦρο, τέκνον με Θεκλα, ἔσω εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐμὰ σοὶ καταγράψω. Ἡ δὲ Θεκλα ἀπήλθεν μετὰ τῆς Τρυφαίνης, καὶ ἀνεπαύσατο σὺν αὐτῇ ἡμέρας ὀλίγας, διδάσκουσα αὐτὴν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Κυρίου, ὥς πιστεῦσαι καὶ τῶν παιδισκῶν τὰς πλείονας, καὶ εἶναι μεγάλην χαρὰν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ Τρυφαίνης. Ἡ δὲ Θεκλα Παῦλον ἐπεπόθει, καὶ ἐζήτησε αὐτὸν, πομ-

vation. Then she took her clothes, and put them on; and the governor immediately published an order in these words: *I release to you Thecla the servant of God.* Upon which the women all cried out together with a loud voice, and with one accord gave praise unto God, and said: *There is but one God, who is the God of Thecla; the one God, who hath delivered Thecla.* So loud were their voices, that the whole city seemed to be shaken; and Trifina herself heard the glad tidings, and arose again, and ran with the multitude to meet Thecla; and embracing her, said: *Now I believe there shall be a resurrection of the dead; now I am persuaded that my daughter is alive. Come therefore home with me, my daughter Thecla, and I will make over all that I have to you.* So Thecla went with Trifina, and was entertained there a few days, teaching her the word of the Lord, whereby many young women were converted; and there was great joy in the family of Trifina. But Thecla longed to see Paul, and enquired and sent every where to find him; and when at length

πίψα· πανταχῶ· καὶ ἔμην-
νύθη αὐτῇ· ἐν Μύροις εἶναι
τῆς Λυκίας· καὶ λάβουσα νε-
αίσκας πολλὰς καὶ παιδίσ-
κας, ἀναζωσαμένη τε, καὶ
ράψασα τὸν χιτῶνα εἰς ἔπεν-
δυτε σχῆμα ἀνδρικόν, ἀπῆλ-
θες αὐτὸν εἰς Μύρα τῆς
Λυκίας· καὶ εὗρεν τὸν Παῦ-
λον λαλῶντα τὸν λόγον τῷ
Θεῷ, καὶ παρέστη αὐτῷ ἁ-
θρόως.

CAP. XXV.

Ὁ δὲ Παῦλος ἐθαμβήθη
βλέπων αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν ὄχλον
τὸν μετ' αὐτῆς, λογισάμενος
μὴ περασμός ἐστιν ἕτερος. Ἡ
δὲ Θεκλα συνῆκεν, καὶ λέγει
αὐτῷ· Ἐλαβον τὸ λῆτρον,
Παῦλε· ὃ γὰρ σοὶ ἐνεργήσας
τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, καὶ μοι συνήρ-
γησεν εἰς τὸ λέσασθαι. Καὶ
λαβόμενος αὐτῆς ὁ Παῦλος
ἀπήγαγεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον Ἑρ-
μῆως· καὶ διηγήσατο Παύλῳ
ἡ Θεκλα πάντα τὰ συμβε-
βηκότα αὐτῇ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ,
ὥς ἐπιπολὺ θαυμάσαι τὸν
Παῦλον, καὶ πάντας τὰς ἀ-
κρόντας σκηρῶσθαι, καὶ
προσεύξασθαι τῇ Τρυφαίνῃ.
Καὶ ἀναστὰς Θεκλα εἶπεν
τῷ Παύλῳ· Πορεύομαι εἰς

length she was informed that
he was at Myra in Lycia, she
took with her many young
men and women; and put-
ting on a girdle, and dressing
herself in the habit of a man,
she went to him to Myra in
Lycia, and there found Paul
preaching the word of God;
and she stood by him among
the throng.

CHAP. XXV.

But it was no small sur-
prise to Paul, when he saw
her and the people with her;
for he imagined some fresh
trial was coming upon them;
which when Thecla perceiv-
ed, she said to him: *I have
been baptized, O Paul; for
he who assists you in preach-
ing, has assisted me to baptize.*
Then Paul took her, and led
her to the house of Hermes;
and Thecla related to Paul
all that had befallen her in
Antioch, inasmuch that Paul
exceedingly wondered; and
all who heard were confirmed
in the faith, and prayed for
Trifina's happiness. Then
Thecla arose, and said to
Paul, *I am going to Iconium.*

Paul

Ἰκόνιον. Ὁ δὲ Παῦλος εἶπεν αὐτῇ· Πορεύε, καὶ διδάσκει τὸν λόγον τῷ Θεῷ. Ἡ μὲν ἔν Τρύφαινα πολλὸν χρυσὸν καὶ ἱματισμὸν ἐπέμψεν διὰ τῆς Θέκλας τῷ Παύλῳ, εἰς διακονίαν τῶν πτωχῶν.

CAP. XXVI.

Ἡ δὲ Θέκλα ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸ Ἰκόνιον· καὶ εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὸν οἶκον τῷ Ὀνησιφόρῳ, καὶ ἔπεσεν εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος, ὅπερ ὁ Παῦλος καθιζόμενος ἐδίδασκεν, καὶ μετὰ κλαυθμῷ προσήυχατο, εὐχαρισῶσα καὶ ἐξομολογυμένη τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ λέγουσα· Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τῷ οἴκῳ τῷ τούτῳ, ὅπερ μοι τὸ φῶς αὐτῷ ἔλαμψεν, Ἰησοῦς ὁ υἱὸς τῷ Θεῷ τῷ ζῶντι, ὁ ἰμοὶ βοηθὸς ἐπὶ ἡγεμόνων, βοηθὸς ἐν πυρὶ, βοηθὸς ἐν θηρίοις· ὅτι αὐτὸς εἷ μόνος Θεός, εἰς τὰς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν.

CAP. XXVII.

Καὶ εὗρε τὸν Θάμυριν τεθνηκότα, καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς ζῶσαν· καὶ προσκαλεσαμένη τὴν ἑαυτῆς μητέρα, εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτήν· Θεοκλία, μήτηρ ἐμῇ, δύνασαι πιστεῦσαι, ὅτι ἐστὶ Θεὸς Κύριος ζῶν ἐν ἑρανοῖς; εἴτε γὰρ χρήματα

Paul replied to her : *Go, and teach the word of the Lord.* But Trifina had sent large sums of money to Paul, and also clothing by the hands of Thecla, for the relief of the poor.

CHAP. XXVI.

So Thecla went to Iconium. And when she came to the house of Onesiphorus, she fell down upon the floor where Paul had sat and preached, and, mixing tears with her prayers, she praised and glorified God in the following words : *O Lord, the God of this house, in which I was first enlightened by thee; O Jesus, son of the living God, who wast my helper before the governor, my helper in the fire, and my helper among the beasts; thou alone art God for ever and ever, Amen.*

CHAP. XXVII.

Thecla now (on her return) found Thamyris dead, but her mother living. So calling her mother, she said to her : *Theoclia, my mother, is it possible for you to be brought to a belief, that there is but one Lord God, who dwells in the heavens? If you desire*

ποθεῖς, ὥστε· σοὶ δι' ἐμᾶ ὁ
 Θεός· εἴτε τὸ τέκνον σε, ἰδὲ
 παρέλκῃ σοι. Καὶ ταῦτα
 καὶ ἕτερα πολλά διεμαρτύ-
 ρατο καὶ παρεκάλει αὐτήν.
 Ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτῆς Θεοκλία
 οὐκ ἐπίστευσε τοῖς λεγομένοις
 αὐτῇ ὑπὸ τῆς μάρτυρος Θε-
 κλης. Ἡ δὲ Θεκλα ἰδῶσα,
 ὅτι οὐκ ὠφελεῖ, κατασφραγι-
 σαμένη ὅλον τὸ σῶμα αὐτῆς,
 ἐξῆλθε τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἐρ-
 χεται εἰς Δάφνην· καὶ εἰσ-
 ελθῶσα εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον, ὅπου
 ὁ Παῦλος μετὰ Ὀνησιφόρου
 εἵρεθον, προσπεσῶσα ἔκλαυσεν
 ἐκείνῳ Θεῷ. Καὶ ἐξελθῶσα
 πάλιν, ἐρχεται ἐπὶ τὴν Σε-
 λευκίαν, πολλὰς φωτίζουσα τῷ
 λόγῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

*desire great riches, God will
 give them to you by me; if you
 want your daughter again,
 here I am. These and many
 other things she represented
 to her mother, (endeavouring)
 to persuade her (to her own
 opinion). But her mother
 Theoclia gave no credit to
 the things which were said
 by the martyr Thecla. So
 that Thecla perceiving she
 discoursed to no purpose,
 signing her whole body with
 the sign (of the cross), left the
 house, and went to Daphne;
 and when she came there,
 she went to the cave, where
 she had found Paul with O-
 nesiphorus, and fell down up-
 on the ground, and wept be-
 fore God. When she de-
 parted thence, she went to*

Seleucia, and enlightened many in the knowledge of Christ.

CAP. XXVIII.

Καὶ νεφέλη φωτεινὴ ὠδήγει
 αὐτήν. Καὶ εἰσελθῶσα ἐν
 Σελευκίᾳ, ἐξῆλθεν ἔξω τῆς
 πόλεως ἀπὸ ἐνὸς σταδίου· καὶ
 ἐκείνης δὲ ἰδεδόκει, ὅτι τὰ
 εἰδῶλα ἐδεράπενον. Καὶ ὁ-
 δηγὸς γάγονεν αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ
 ὄρει τῷ λεγομένῳ Καλαμώνος,
 ἥτοι Ῥοδεῶνος. Καὶ εὖρεθον

CHAP. XXVIII.

*And a bright cloud con-
 ducted her in the journey.
 And after she had arrived at
 Seleucia, she went to a place
 out of the city, about the
 distance of a furlong, being
 afraid of the inhabitants, be-
 cause they were worshippers
 of idols. And she was led
 (by the cloud) into a moun-
 tain called Calamon, or Ro-
 deon. There she abode many
 years,*

ἐκεῖ σπήλαιον, εἰσῆλθεν αὐτῷ,
καὶ ἦν ἐκεῖ ἐπὶ ἔτη ἱκανὰ,
καὶ πολλὰς καὶ χαλεπὰς πει-
ρασμὰς ὑπέστη ὑπὸ τῆ διαβόλου,
καὶ ὑπήνεγκεν γενναίως, βοη-
θευμένη ὑπὸ τῆ Χριστοῦ. Μα-
ρτυρεῖται δὲ τινες τῶν εὐγενίδων
γυναικῶν περὶ τῆς παρθένης
Θέκλης, ἀπίσαντες πρὸς αὐτήν,
καὶ ἐμάνθανον τὰ λόγια τῆ
Θεοῦ· καὶ πολλοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν
ἀπειτάξαντο τῷ βίῳ, καὶ συν-
ήσκον αὐτῇ· καὶ φήμη ἀγαθὴ
ἤχθη πανταχῶς περὶ αὐτῆς,
καὶ ἰάσεις ἐγένοντο ὑπ' αὐτῆς.
Γινῶσα ἔν πάσα ἡ πόλις καὶ
ἡ περιχώρος, ἔφερον τὰς ἀρ-
ρώστιας αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει, καὶ
πρὶν ἢ τῇ θύρᾳ προσεγγί-
σωσι, θάπτον ἀπηλλάττοντο,
οἷον δὴποτε κατείχοντο νοσή-
ματι, καὶ τὰ πνεύματα τὰ
ἀκάθαρτα κράζοντα ἐξήρ-
χοντο· καὶ πάντες κατελάμ-
βανον τὰ ἴδια αὐτῶν ὑγιῇ,
δοξάζοντες τὸν Θεὸν δόντα
τοιαύτην χάριν τῇ παρθένῳ
Θέκλῃ. Οἱ ἰατροὶ ἔν τῆς
πόλεως Σελευκίῳ ἐξεδυνώθη-
σαν, τὴν ἐμπορείαν ἀπολέ-
σαντες, καὶ οὐδεὶς λοιπὸν προσ-
εῖχεν αὐτοῖς. Καὶ φθόνα
καὶ ζήλον πλησθέντες ἐμηχα-

years, and underwent a great
many grievous temptations of
the devil, which she bore in
a becoming manner, by the
assistance which she had from
Christ. At length certain
gentlewomen hearing of the
virgin Thecla, went to her,
and were instructed by her
in the oracles of God, and
many of them abandoned this
world, and led a monastick
life with her. Hereby a
good report was spread every
where of Thecla, and she
wrought several (miraculous)
cures, so that all the city and
adjacent countries brought
their sick to that mountain,
and before they came as far
as the door of the cave, they
were instantly cured of what-
soever distemper they had.
The unclean spirits were cast
out, making a noise; all re-
ceived their sick made whole,
and glorified God, who had
bestowed such power on
the virgin Thecla; insomuch
that the physicians of Se-
leucia were now of no more
account, and lost all the profit
of their trade, because no one
regarded them; upon which
they were filled with envy,
and began to contrive what

ἔντο κατὰ τῆς τῆ Χριστῆ δέ-
λης, τὸ τί αὐτῇ ποιήσωσιν.

methods to take with this
servant of Christ.

CAP. XXIX.

Ἐποβάλλει ἔν αὐτοῖς ὁ
διάβολος λογισμὸν πονηρόν·
καὶ μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν συνάχ-
θέντες καὶ συνέδριον ποιήσαν-
τες, συμβελεύονται πρὸς ἀλ-
λήλους, λέγοντες· Αὕτη ἡ παρ-
θένος ἱερὰ τυγχάνει τῆς με-
γάλης Θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος· καὶ
εἴ τι ἂν αἰτήσῃ αὐτὴν, ἀκέει
αὐτῆς, ὡς παρθένα ἔσης, καὶ
φιλήσιν αὐτὴν πάντες οἱ Θεοί.
Δεῦτε ἔν, λάβωμεν ἄνδρας
ἀτάκτους, καὶ μεθύσωμεν αὐ-
τὰς οἶνον πολὺν, καὶ δώσωμεν
αὐτοῖς χρυσίον πολὺ, καὶ εἴ-
πωμεν αὐτοῖς· Εἰ δυνήσῃτε
φθεῖραι καὶ μιάναι αὐτὴν,
διδῶμεν ὑμῖν καὶ ἄλλα χρή-
ματα. Ἔλεγον ἔν πρὸς αὐ-
τὰς οἱ ἰατροί, ὅτι ἐὰν ἰσχύ-
σῃσιν αὐτὴν μιάναι, ἐκ ἀκέ-
φῃσιν αὐτῆς οἱ Θεοί, ἕτε Ἀρ-
τεμις ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσθενούντων.
Ἐποίησαν ἔν ἔτως, καὶ ἀπελ-
θόντες οἱ πονηροὶ ἄνδρες ἐπὶ
τὸ ὄρος, καὶ ἐπιστάντες ὡς λέ-
οντες τῷ σπηλαίῳ, ἐπάταξαν
τὴν θύραν· ἤνοιξεν δὲ ἡ ἁγία
μάρτυς Θεκλα, θαρρῶσα ὥ
ἐπίστευσεν Θεῷ· προέγνω γὰρ

CHAP. XXIX.

The devil then suggested
bad advice to their minds ;
and being on a certain day
met together to consult, they
reasoned among each other
thus : *The virgin is a priestess
of the great goddess Diana,
and whatsoever she requests of
her, is granted, because she is
a virgin, and so is beloved by
all the gods : now then let us
procure some rakish fellows,
and after we have made them
sufficiently drunk, and given
them a good sum of money, let
us order them to go and de-
bauch this virgin, promising
them, if they do it, a larger
reward.* (For they thus con-
cluded among themselves, that
if they be able to debauch
her, the Gods will no more
regard her, nor Diana cure
the sick for her.) They pro-
ceeded according to this reso-
lution, and the fellows went
to the mountain, and as fierce
as lions to the cave, knock-
ing at the door. The holy
martyr Thecla, relying upon
the God in whom she be-
lieved, opened the door, al-

though

τὸν δόλον αὐτῶν. Καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτούς· Τί θέλετε, τέκνα; Οἱ δὲ εἶπον· Τίς ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα λεγομένη Θέκλα; Ἡ δὲ εἶπεν· Τί αὐτὴν θέλεις; Λέγουσιν αὐτῇ ἐκεῖνοι· Συγκαθευδῆσαι αὐτῇ θέλομεν. Λέγει αὐτοῖς ἡ μακαρία Θέκλα· Ἐγὼ ταπεινὴ γραῦς εἰμι, ἄλλη δὲ τῷ Κυρίῳ με Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ· καὶ κἂν τι ποτὲ θράσαι θέλετε ἄτοπον εἰς ἐμὲ, ἢ δύνασθε. Λέγουσιν αὐτῇ ἐκεῖνοι· Οὐκ ἐστὶ δυνατόν μὴ πρᾶξαι εἰς σέ, ὃ θέλομεν. Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπόντες, ἐκρότησαν αὐτὴν ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ἐβόλουντο καθυβρίσαι αὐτήν. Ἡ δὲ λέγει αὐτοῖς μετ' ἐπιεικείας· Ἀναμείνατε, τέκνα, ἵνα ἴδῃτε τὴν δόξαν Κυρίου. Καὶ κραταμένη ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀνέβλεψεν εἰς τὸν ἕρανόν, καὶ εἶπεν· Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ φοβερός, καὶ ἀνείκαστος, καὶ ἔνδοξος τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις, ὁ ρυσάμενός με ἐκ πυρὸς, ὁ μὴ παραδώσας με Θαμύριδι, ὁ μὴ παραδώσας με Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ὁ ρυσάμενός με ἐκ θηρίων, ὁ διασώσας με ἐν τῷ βυθῷ, ὁ πανταχῶς συνεργήσας μοι, καὶ δοξάσας τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐν

though she was before apprized of their design, and said to them, *Young men, what is your business?* They replied, *Is there any one within, whose name is Thecla?* She answered, *What would you have with her?* They said, *We have a mind to lie with her.* The blessed Thecla answered: *Though I am a mean old woman, I am the servant of my Lord Jesus Christ; and though you have a vile design against me, ye shall not be able to accomplish it.* They replied: *It is impossible but we must be able to do with you what we have a mind.* And while they were saying this, they laid hold on her by main force, and would have ravished her. Then she with the (greatest) mildness said to them: *Young men, have patience, and see the glory of the Lord.* And while they held her, she looked up to heaven, and said: *O God most reverend, to whom none can be likened; who makest thyself glorious over thine enemies; who didst deliver me from the fire, and didst not give me up to Thamyris, didst not give me up to Alexander; who deliveredst me from the wild beasts; who didst pre-*

serve me in the deep waters; who hast every where been my helper,

ἔμοι, καὶ νῦν ῥύσαι με ἐκ τῶν
 ἀνόμων ἀνδρώπων τούτων, καὶ
 μὴ ἐάσης με ἐνυβρίσαι τὴν
 παρθενίαν μου, ἣν διὰ τὸ
 ὄνομά σε ἐφύλαξα μέχρι τῆς
 νῦν· ὅτι σὲ φιλῶ, καὶ σὲ πο-
 θῶ, καὶ σοὶ προσκυνῶ τῷ
 Πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ, καὶ τῷ
 Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ εἰς τὰς αἰ-
 ῶνας, ἀμήν. Καὶ ἐγένετο
 φωνὴ ἐκ τῆς ἐρανῆς, λέγουσα·
 Μὴ φοβηθῆς, Θεκλα, δέλη
 με ἀληθινῇ, μετὰ σοῦ γάρ
 εἰμι· ἀπόβλεψον καὶ ἴδε, ὅπου
 ἠνώκεται ἔμπροσθέν σου· ἐκεῖ
 γὰρ οἶκος αἰώνιος ἔσται σοι,
 κακεῖ τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν δέχῃ.
 Καὶ προσχῆσα ἡ μακαρία
 Θεκλα, ἶδεν τὴν πέτραν ἀνε-
 ωχθεῖσαν, ὅσον χωρεῖ ἄνθρω-
 πον εἰσεῖναι, καὶ κατὰ τὸ
 λεχθὲν αὐτῇ ἐποίησεν· καὶ
 ἀποφυγῆσα γενναίως τὰς ἀνό-
 μους, εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πέτραν·
 καὶ συνεκλείσθη εὐθὺς ἡ πέ-
 τρα, ὥστε μήτε ἀρμόν φαίνεσ-
 θαι. Ἐκεῖνοι δὲ θεωρῶντες
 τὸ παράδοξον θαῦμα, ὥσπερ
 ἐν ἐκστάσει ἐγίνοντο, καὶ ἐκ
 ἰσχυσαν ἐπισχεῖν τὴν τῆς Θεᾶς
 δέλην, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον τῆς μα-
 φορίας αὐτῆς ἐπελάβοντο, καὶ

helper, and hast glorified thy
 name in me; now also deliver
 me from the hands of these
 wicked and unreasonable men;
 nor suffer them to debauch my
 chastity, which I have hitherto
 preserved for thy honour; for
 I love thee, and long for thee,
 and worship thee, O Father,
 Son, and Holy Ghost, for ever-
 more. Amen. Then came a
 voice from heaven, saying,
 Fear not, Thecla, my faithful
 servant, for I am with thee.
 Look, and see the place which
 is opened for thee: there thy
 eternal abode shall be; there
 thou shalt receive the (bea-
 tific) vision. The blessed
 Thecla observing, saw the
 rock opened, to as large a
 degree, as that a man might
 enter in; she did as she was
 commanded, bravely fled from
 the vile crew, and went in-
 to the rock, which instantly
 so closed, that there was not
 any crack visible where it had
 opened. The men stood
 perfectly astonished at so pro-
 digious a miracle, and had no
 power to detain the servant of
 God; but only, catching
 hold of her veil (or hood) they
 tore off a piece of it; and
 even that was by the per-
 mission of God, for the con-
 firmation of their faith, who
 should

μέρος τι ἠδυνήθησαν ἀπο-
σπάσαι· καὶ κεῖνο κατὰ συγ-
χώρησιν Θεῷ, πρὸς πίσιν τῶν
ὄρώντων τὸν σεβασμίου τόπον,
καὶ εἰς εὐλογίαν ταῖς μετὰ
ταῦτα γενεαῖς τοῖς πιστεύουσιν
εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν
Χριστὸν ἐκ καρδίας καθαρᾶς.

Ἐπαθεν ἔν ἡ τῷ Θεῷ πρωτα-
μάρτυς, καὶ ἀπόστολος, καὶ
παρθένος Θέκλα, ἡ ἀπὸ τῷ
Ἰκονίῃ, ἐτῶν δέκα ὀκτὼ, μετὰ
δὲ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας, καὶ τῆς
περιόδου, καὶ τῆς ἀσκήσεως
τῆς ἐν τῷ ὄρει, ἔζησεν ἔτη
ἅλλα ἑβδομηκοντα καὶ δύο·
ὅτε δὲ προσελαύβετο αὐτὴν ὁ
Κύριος, ἦν ἐτῶν ἐνενήκοντα·
καὶ ἔτως ἡ τελείωσις αὐτῆς
γίνεται. Γίνεται δὲ ἡ ὁσία
μνήμη αὐτῆς μηνὶ Σεπτεμβρίῳ
εἰκάδι τετάρτῃ, εἰς δόξαν τῷ
Πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ,
καὶ εἰς τὰς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.

should come to see this vene-
rable place, and to convey
blessings to those in succeed-
ing ages, who should believe
on our Lord Jesus Christ
from a pure heart.—Thus
suffered that first martyr and
apostle of God, and virgin,
Thecla; who came from I-
conium at eighteen years of
age; afterwards, partly in
journeys and travels, and
partly in a monastick life in
the cave, she lived seventy-
two years; so that she was
ninety years old when the
Lord translated her. Thus
ends her life. The day which
is kept sacred to her memory
is the twenty-fourth of Sep-
tember, to the glory of the
Father, and the Son, and the
Holy Ghost, now and for e-
vermore. Amen.

C H A P. XXXIV.

Several Reasons for inserting these Acts: they were ranked among the Apocryphal Scriptures by the primitive Christians: several things contained in them were credited: they went under Paul's Name, and have been esteemed genuine by several modern Writers.

I DOUBT not, but that it will seem strange to many readers, that a History so apparently fabulous should have any place in this collection, or be reckoned by me among the Apocryphal books of the New Testament. But, to justify my insertion of it, I desire it may be observed:

(1.) That the primitive writers of Christianity were wont to reckon the Acts of Paul and Thecla among the Apocryphal books of the New Testament. So,

1. Tertullian * in his treatise of Baptism,

Quod si, qui Pauli perperam scripta legunt, exemplum Theclæ ad licentiam mulierum docendi tingendique defendunt: sciant in Asia presbyterum, qui eam scripturam construxit, quasi titulo Pauli de suo cumulans, convictum atque confessum, id se amore Pauli fecisse, et loco discessisse.

But if any read the *Apocryphal books* of Paul, and thence defend the right of women to teach and baptize, by the example of Thecla; let them consider, that a certain presbyter of Asia, who forged that book, and adorned his performance with the name of Paul, was convicted of the forgery, and confessed that he did it out of respect to Paul; and so left his place.

2. Jerome in his *Life of Luke* ^b.

Periodos Pauli et Theclæ, et totam baptizati Leonis fabu-

The Acts of Paul and Thecla, with the whole story of the

* Cap. 17.

^b Catal. Vir. Illustr. in Luca.

lam, inter Apocryphas scripturas computamus. Quale enim est, ut individuus comes Apostoli, inter cæteras ejus res, hoc solum ignoraverit? Sed et Tertullianus vicinus eorum temporum refert, presbyterum quendam in Asia, *συνδασην* (i. e. amatorem) Apostoli Pauli, convictum a Joanne, quod auctor esset libri, et confessum se hoc Pauli amore fecisse, et ob id loco excidisse.

baptized Lion, I reckon among the *Apocryphal Scriptures*. For what sort of thing must it be, which the constant companion of the Apostle should be ignorant of, and no other thing which he did? But Tertullian, who lived near those times, relates, that a certain presbyter of Asia, an admirer of Paul, being convicted by St. John, that he was the author of the book, confessed that he did it out of love to Paul, and so left his place.

3. Pope Gelasius in his Decree.

Liber qui appellatur Actus Theclæ et Pauli, Apocryphus.

The book which is entitled *The Acts of Thecla and Paul*, is Apocryphal.

From these several writers it is evident, that in the first ages of Christianity, the Acts of Paul and Thecla were reputed among the Apocryphal books of the New Testament; and this is of itself sufficient to justify my inserting it: but as a farther reason, I observe,

(2.) That though by the forementioned Fathers the Acts of Paul and Thecla were rejected among the Apocryphal Scriptures, yet many of its relations, or a large part of the history, was credited, and looked upon as genuine by the primitive Christians. The name and history of Thecla is almost as frequent as any other in Christian antiquities. The learned Pamelius^a, and after him Mr. Du Pin^b, Dr. Grabe^c, and others, have given us a long list of the places in the ancient

^a Annot. in Tertull. de Baptism. c. 17.

^b History of the Canon of the

New Test. vol. 2. ch. vi. §. 6.

^c Spicileg. Patr. tom. 1. p. 88, &c.

writers where Thecla is mentioned, and her history referred to: I shall think it sufficient to cite those only which I have met with, and which appear to me most considerable; viz. the passage of,

1. Cyprian, or whoever was the author of the *Orat. pro Martyr.*

Assiste nobis, sicut Apostolis	Help us, O Lord, as thou
in vinculis, <i>Theclæ in ignibus,</i>	didst help the Apostles in
Paulo in persecutionibus, Pe-	their imprisonments, <i>Thecla</i>
tro in fluctibus.	<i>amidst the flames,</i> Paul in his
	persecutions, and Peter amidst
	the waves of the sea.

2. That under the name of Cyprian, intitled, *Orat. quam sub die passionis suæ dixit.*

Libera me de medio hujus	Deliver me, O Lord, <i>as thou</i>
seculi, sicut liberaisti Theclam	<i>didst deliver Thecla, when in</i>
de medio amphitheatro, &c.	<i>the middle of the amphitheatre</i>
	<i>she was to conflict with wild</i>
	<i>beasts.</i>

3. *Eusebius de Martyr. Palæstin. c. 3.* (who is supposed by Valefius^a, and Du Pin^b, to have referred to this Thecla in the following passage.)

Τατῷ δ' ἄμα γενναιοτάτην	Agapius also, and Thecla,
ἔνστασιν ἐπιδειξάμενοι Ἀγά-	<i>who lived in our time (or</i>
πιος, καὶ ἡ κατ' ἡμᾶς Θέκλα,	<i>country), having shewn a pro-</i>
Σηρίοις εἰς βορὰν κατεδικάσ-	<i>digious resolution of mind,</i>
θησαν.	<i>were condemned to the beasts.</i>

On which Valefius notes, that it was not without design that Eusebius added those words, *ἡ κατ' ἡμᾶς*; for hereby he intended to intimate, that the Thecla, whom he was speaking of, was a different person from that ancient Thecla, who was the companion of the Apostle Paul. And so Du Pin: Eusebius makes mention of this Thecla in the third book of Martyrs (so the English translator has awkwardly rendered it, instead of

^a Annot. in loc. Euseb.

^b Loc. jam cit.

the third chapter of his book of the *Martyrs of Palestine*), and distinguished her from one of the same name, who was exposed to wild beasts in the persecution raised by Diocletian: against which conjecture I see nothing which can be reasonably objected.

4. Epiphanius, *Hæref. lxxviii. §. 16.*

Καὶ Θέκλα μὲν συναντᾷ Παύλῳ τῷ ἁγίῳ, καὶ διαλύεται γάμος, ὁρμασὸν ἔχουσα εὐαιδέσατον, πρωτεύοντα δὲ πόλει, πλείσιον ἄγαν, εὐγενέσατον δὲ ἐν τῷ βίῳ, καὶ διαφανέσατον. Καὶ περιφρονεῖ τῶν ἐπιγείων ἢ ἁγία, ἵνα τῶν ἐπερανίων ἐγκρατὴς γένηται.

So Thecla, when she met with St. Paul, determined against marriage, although she was at that time under engagements (or betrothed) to a most agreeable young gentleman, who was the chief person of the city, both very rich, of a noble family, and every way valuable. But that holy virgin thus con-

temned the enjoyments of this life, that she might obtain those of a better.

5. St. Austin (*lib. 30. cap. 4. contra Faust. Manich.*) brings in Faustus thus disputing:

Si vere favere huic quoque proposito, et non reluctari volenti id quoque doctrinam putatis esse dæmoniorum, taceo nunc vestrum periculum: ipsi jam timeo Apostolo, ne dæmoniorum doctrinam intulisse tunc Iconio videatur, cum Theclam oppigneratam jam thalamo in amorem, sermone suo perpetuæ virginitatis incendit.

But if you conclude our opinion to be the doctrine of devils, and that it is not lawful to encourage a person to be a virgin, who has a mind to continue so: I shall say nothing of the hazards you run by such an assertion; only cannot but be in pain for your own Apostle, lest he himself should be found to have established the doctrine of devils at Iconium, when by a dis-

course of his there, he incited Thecla to a resolution of perpetual virginity, although at that time she was actually engaged to marry.

Besides

Besides these, there are many others of the antient writers who have mentioned Thecla, or referred to her history; viz. Gregory Nazianzen ^a, Chrysostom ^b, Severus Sulpitius ^c, who all lived within the fourth century ^d. In the following ages, the subject became more known; the incomparable Photius tells us ^e, that Basil of Seleucia wrote, in verse, the acts and sufferings, and victories of the first martyr Thecla. I shall only add, that Euagrius Scholasticus, an Ecclesiastical historian, who wrote about the year 590, relates, that “ after the
“ Emperor Zeno had abdicated his empire, and Basilisk had
“ taken possession of it, he had a vision of the holy and excellent martyr Thecla, who promised him the restoration of his
“ empire; for which, when it was brought about, he erected
“ and dedicated a most noble and sumptuous temple to this famous martyr Thecla, at Seleucia, a city of Isauria, and bestowed upon it very noble endowments, which (says the author) are preserved even till this day ^f.

(3.) These Acts, which I have above produced, require to be inserted here, because *they went under the name of St. Paul, and pretended to be written by him.* The fact is certain, from the place of Tertullian above cited, and from the current title the book has had in all ages; and there can be no history in which St. Paul was so much concerned, and acted so considerable a part, and pretending to be written by himself, but must very properly fall under consideration in this volume.

(4.) *Several of the peculiar tenets of Popery are by the advocates of that party confirmed out of this book, as being authentick, genuine, and apostolick.* So, for instance, the story, Ch. XX. of Falconilla (Trifina's daughter) coming after her death from the other world, and desiring her to ask Thecla to pray for her, that she might be translated from her state of misery to

^a Orat. 3. n. 63. et 18. n. 17.

^b Homil. 25. in Act. Apost.

^c De vitâ Martini inter Orthodoxygrapha, vol. 1. p. 544, &c.

^d Add to these cited, Ambrose Epist. 7. et 82; Gregory Nyssene

in vitâ Macrinæ; Zeno Veronensis Serm. de Tim. who all lived within the fourth century.

^e Cod. 168.

^f Hist. Eccl. lib. 3. cap. 8.

a state of happiness; which request Trifina made to Thecla, and Thecla accordingly prayed for her. This passage is brought by Damascenus^a, to support *the doctrine of praying for the dead, and helping the miserable in the other world by our prayers and alms*. Again, the Popish *doctrine of celibacy* is frequently contended for, and confirmed out of this book; as, perhaps, the first prevalence and progress of that doctrine owed its original to it^b.

(5.) Add to all this, that not only Cardinal Baronius^c, Locrinus^d, and others; but the learned editor of these Acts in England, Dr. Grabe, also looks upon *this history as true and genuine, wrote in the apostolick age, and containing nothing in it which is superstitious, or disagreeable to that time^e*; which, if true, will certainly make it as justly considerable, as any other Apocryphal book whatsoever.

^a In Serm. de Mortuis adjuvandis apud Sixt. Senens. Bib. Sanct. l. 6. annot 47.

^b Vid. Chemnit. Exam. Concil. Trident. Par. 3. p. 89, 90.

^c Annal. tom. 1. ann. 47. §. 2.

apud Rivet. Crit. Sac. lib. 1. c. 5.

^d Præfat. in Act. Apost. c. 5. apud eund. eod. loco.

^e Spicileg. Patr. tom. 1. p. 90, 94.

C H A P. XXXV.

Previous Remarks upon these Acts: they were in Part the Forgery of an Asiatick Presbyter: they are now interpolated: they are Apocryphal and spurious; were confessed to be such by their Author; were never read nor cited as Scripture: they contain many Falsehoods; as, that Paul was against Marriage; that he told a wilful Lie; that he allowed Women to preach. Robert Barclay noted.

HAVING in the former chapter largely given the reasons of my inserting these Acts of Paul and Thecla, I proceed now to lay before the reader whatever I have observed relating to them, with a particular proof that they are Apocryphal. I observe then,

(1.) *That some part of these Acts was certainly written by the presbyter of Asia, whom Tertullian mentions in the Apostolick age. (See the place, Chap. preced. Numb. 1.) The truth of this is sufficiently evinced by this single consideration, viz. That the peculiar doctrines, which Tertullian saith were delivered and contended for out of this book forged by the Asiatick presbyter, are to be found in the Acts above published. The doctrines I mean are those, That women may lawfully teach or preach in the Church, and that women may lawfully baptize. These are the two things for which this book was cited, and pleaded by those against whom Tertullian disputes; and these things are very visible in the Acts which we have now under consideration. For,*

1. *We read of Thecla's teaching, or preaching, several times, e. g. Ch. XXIV. she preached the Word of the Lord, and was the instrument of converting many young women to Christianity in the house of Trifina at Antioch; and Ch. XXV. when she had found Paul at Myra, and told him of her intended journey to Iconium, he gives her a commission, or command, to preach the Gospel: Go, says he, and teach the Word of the Lord. And accordingly, Ch. XXVII. we find her*

her at Seleucia, enlightening many in the knowledge of Christ. And once more, Ch. XXVIII. we read of several gentlewomen converted by her preaching in the cave. From all this it was easy and natural to conclude the lawfulness of women's teaching, or preaching.

2. Nor was it with less reason, that *they did also support their practice of baptizing from the example of Thecla*: for, Ch. XXII. it is said, that *she threw herself into the water, and said, In thy name, O my Lord Jesus Christ, I am this last day baptized.* And upon her arrival to Paul, Ch. XXV. she acquaints him, that *he who had assisted him in preaching, had also assisted her in baptizing.* From hence (to omit many other arguments, which it were easy to produce) it is evident, that some part of these Acts of Paul and Thecla were written by the presbyter of Asia.

(2.) *The present Acts of Paul and Thecla are very different from the antient book written by the presbyter of Asia.* It happened to them, as to many other of the Apocryphal pieces of the New Testament; the too fruitful imagination and kind hand of some well-designing Christian to have embellished the original performance by the addition of many fictitious circumstances; and just as the first author declared he was influenced to his forgery out of the prodigious respect he had for St. Paul, and with design to advance his reputation, so with the same kind design others have taken the liberty of interpolating, and inserting whatsoever they apprehended conducive to it. This cannot but be most clearly evident to any one, who with a just impartiality reflects upon the matter; for nothing can possibly be more unlike a writing of the first century, or apostolick age, than a considerably large part of this book is: the idle and romantick fables, the silly miracles, the incredible stories (of which I shall produce instances below), the ridiculous and late customs which are referred to, such as *signing with the sign of the cross, &c.* are so many demonstrative evidences of interpolations in this work long after the Apostle's time, and make the compofure appear much more like the legends of the monks, and the products of the miraculous

culous ages before the reformation, than a real and genuine history of a plain fact done and written in the Apostle's time. Nothing therefore can be a more surprising evidence of prejudice, than that a person of Dr. Grabe's learning^a should so confidently tell us, *That it is a confirmation the Acts of Paul and Thecla were wrote by the presbyter of Asia, that there is scarce any thing superstitious in them, or that favours of any opinions later than the Apostles' age, and that there is nothing in them which might not have been wrote in that first century by an honest presbyter, not well versed in Christianity.*

(3.) *The Acts of Paul and Thecla are Apocryphal.* No one that I know has yet ventured to assert them Canonical; but the asserting of them to be genuine, true, and containing real fact which happened in the Apostles' time, and in which St. Paul bore so considerable a part; the asserting them to contain sermons and discourses, which were really the sermons and discourses of the inspired Apostle; in a word, the asserting them to relate many real miracles wrought at that time, and the book itself written about that time, which is done by Baronius, Lorinus, and Dr. Grabe, seems to be little less than asserting them to be of authority very near equal to the books which are of the Canon. I shall therefore, for the most part, under this head endeavour after such proof, as will not only shew these Acts to be Apocryphal, but the whole history to be spurious and false, a mere fable and legend.

Arg. I. The Acts of Paul and Thecla appear to be Apocryphal and spurious, *from the confession and acknowledgment of the Asiatick presbyter who was the first author of them.* When he had first published his book, such was the care of those primitive Christians not to be imposed upon by any spurious pieces under the Apostles' names, that they immediately endeavoured to detect the fraud; in which they met with the desired success, and obliged him to a confession of the whole

^a Vix quidquam in iis reperiatur superstitiosum, aut proprias sequioris ævi hypotheses redolens, nihilque

fit, quod non prima ista ætate scribi potuerit, &c. Spicileg. Patr. tom. 1. p. 93.

matter, and upon that deprived him of his office in the Church. All he pleaded for himself was, that he made the book out of his great respect for St. Paul; by which he could mean no other, than that he designed, by relating the miracles attending St. Paul's preaching, to make him of a more advanced reputation. All this is in the place of Tertullian cited at large Chap. preced. Num. 1. to which I shall only add out of Jerome (see the same place, Num. 2.), that he was convicted of the forgery by St. John. Nothing can be more fairly deduced from any words, than it is from hence, that the book of this presbyter's writing, and the history contained in it, was the fiction of his own brain; and a composition or relation not of any real facts, but a mere fable, or collection of imaginary stories to serve a purpose. This will undeniably prove it Apocryphal and spurious; and one would have imagined, there had been scarce any way possible to have avoided the force of such evidence. But it is strange to observe with what subtle artifice and pains, learned men will endeavour to elude the force of every thing which is said against a favourite opinion, Dr. Grabe^a has therefore found a means to come off here, and would persuade us, that the words of Tertullian imply no more, than *that the book was falsely ascribed to St. Paul, as the author, and not that the story was a fiction*. But can any thing be more evidently calculated to serve a purpose? The whole of Tertullian's argument, as well as the plain texture of the words, imply it was a fiction; for if the whole that was proved upon the presbyter was, that he wrote the book; and it was not also proved, that he wrote that which was false (i. e. if we suppose with Dr. Grabe, the history genuine, and only the title or name of Paul to be supposititious); then the argument taken out of the book for the practice of women's preaching and baptizing would still remain valid and good; which is directly contrary to the whole design of Tertullian, which is

^a At vero istud adhuc in quæstione manet, utrum historia Theclæ in isto libro narrata, mera fuerit fabula, a Presbytero isto confecta, cum talis virgo et martyr sanctissima nunquam existerit, istave egerit et

passa sit pro fide Christiana, quam a Paulo didicisse fertur. Sane Tertulliani verba hoc non evincunt; sed solum libellum Presbyteri istius Asiatici perperam Apostolo adscriptum, &c. Spicileg. tom. 1. p. 88.

to shew that argument to be not good; and that because the facts upon which it was founded were not real, but false. I conclude therefore from this priest's conviction and confession, that not only the book is Apocryphal, but the history is false. It must be confessed, indeed, that this proof does not directly affect the whole history, but only that part of it which was then extant, and wrote by the presbyter. But it is easy to answer, that if the groundwork or foundation of the story be false, i. e. if there were no such person as Thecla, nor any transactions between Paul and Thecla, then all the interpolations and fictitious additions, which were afterwards built upon that foundation, must be false too.

Arg. II. The Acts of Paul and Thecla are Apocryphal, because *they are not recited or mentioned in any of the catalogues of the sacred books of the New Testament*, which were made by the primitive writers of Christianity, by Prop. IV.

Arg. III. The Acts of Paul and Thecla are not to be esteemed Canonical, because *not cited nor referred to as such in any of the writings of the primitive Christians*, by Prop. V. Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, &c. have not so much as once mentioned either the book or history; from whence it would not seem unjust to conclude, either that the book and history were not known to them, or else looked upon as fabulous and false by them. Besides, were the story known or credited in those early times, it is perfectly unaccountable that Eusebius should no where have mentioned it in his history, nor have inserted it in his large lists of Apocryphal writings under the names of the Apostles, which he has given us, Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 3. & 25. But to proceed: Tertullian and Jerome have expressly mentioned it as Apocryphal: and as I have proved the former of these looked upon the whole history as fabulous and fictitious, so it is undeniably evident the latter did too. Hence it is he justly banters it, as containing *baptizati leonis fabulam*, the idle story of a lion's being baptized, which was undoubtedly in Jerome's and other copies of this book which were extant in his time, but, being so
very

very gross, was afterwards expunged by the care of some one who thought it so. The learned editor of these Acts does, indeed, suppose this story neither to have been originally nor commonly in them; because neither Tertullian nor any other of the Fathers have mentioned it; but that it was accidentally in Jerome's copy, by the carelessness or fraud of some scribe^a. But this is a supposition to serve a turn, without the least colour or evidence of truth. His argument stands fairly thus: "Paul cites a passage out of some book of the Old Testament; but neither Peter, John, James, nor any one else of the Apostles, have cited that passage, though it seems to be their purpose to have cited it; therefore the passage was not genuine, but a peculiar interpolation in Paul's copy." Besides as to Tertullian, I cannot but observe that Dr. Grabe saith, if there had been any such story of the baptized lion in the ancient Acts, he would certainly have taken notice of it, *libri auctoritatem elevare*, to overthrow the credit and authority of the book; whereas two or three pages before he would persuade us, Tertullian believed the history to be genuine, and the book to be true, only that it went falsely under St. Paul's name (see above, Arg. I.); than which, nothing can be a more evident contradiction. But such inconsistencies the best writers are betrayed into, when they have the misfortune to be slaves to prejudice.

But it is yet pleaded in behalf of these Acts, that *they are frequently cited and referred to by the writers of the fourth century, and by Cyprian more than once in the third*. But, after a strict enquiry into the matter, I find no evidence of this book or history being either known or credited before the latter end of the fourth century. *Credita ex parte quarta ætate, quum perpetuæ virginitatis cresceret admiratio apud Ambrosium, Nazianzenum, &c.* They met with credit among some in the fourth century, at the time when the doctrine of *perpetual virginity* grew into esteem with Ambrose, Nazianzen, &c. says the great antiquary Frederick Spanheim^b; in which he seems most justly to have hinted both the time and occasion of these

^a Spicileg. Patr. t. 1. p. 93.

^b Hist. Eccl. Secul. 1. p. 567.

Acts first getting into publick esteem. Nor is it of any force, to say they are cited in the former age by Cyprian in his two orations (see the places at large, Chap. XXXIV.) ; for it is almost universally agreed, that neither of those orations were wrote by that Father, but are spurious and supposititious. Belarmin himself places them both among those works of Cyprian which are *supposititia vel dubia* ; i. e. spurious or doubtful^a ; and so I find they are ranked in many of the editions of Cyprian's works^b. Accordingly they have been rejected as such by the critics in their studies, viz. Erasmus^c, Coccius^d, Rivet^e, Cave^f, &c. As to Epiphanius, Ambrose, Gregory Nazianzen, who were cotemporaries, and some others who lived about the same time, and have cited certain passages out of these Acts or History of Thecla ; as it is evident they did not cite them as Scripture, but only as what they believed to be a true and useful history ; so it is no less evident they were imposed upon by the artifices and frauds of some designing men, who trumped up this old forgery again, and published it with the addition of some embellishment of their own, in order to support the high superstitious notions which men at this time began to entertain of perpetual virginity. *Non semper vera sunt aut genuina, quæ a priscis patribus vel usurpata sunt, vel etiam aliquando probata*, says the learned Rivet on this very matter^g ; i. e. *We are not always to conclude those things to be true, which have been referred to and approved by the ancient Fathers.*

Arg. IV. The Acts of Paul and Thecla are Apocryphal, because *they relate several things false, and which are contrary to those things which are certainly known to be true*, by Prop. VIII. I have given above some general, and what appears to me conclusive evidence, that the whole business is a mere romance and fiction ; what I intend here is, to select some par-

^a De Script. Eccles. ad Cyprian.

^b Vid. Ind. Opp. Cypriani, et Pamel. Præfat. in tom. 3.

^c Apud Rivet. Critic. Sacr. lib.

2. c. 15.

^d Censur. Vet. Script. p. 75, 76.

^e Critic. Sacr. loc. cit.

^f Hist. Liter. in Cypriano, vol.

1. p. 90.

^g Critic. Sacr. lib. 1. c. 5.

ticular instances of such things as appear directly to oppose and contradict acknowledged truths ; such as,

I. The doctrine of celibacy, or the unlawfulness of marriage, which is here said to be expressly taught and preached by Paul, Ch. IV. *Blessed are they who keep their flesh undefiled.* And, Ch. VII. *Blessed are the souls and bodies of virgins ; for they are acceptable to God, and shall not lose the reward of their virginity. For the word of their heavenly Father shall prove effectual to their salvation in the day of his Son, and they shall enjoy rest for evermore.* So his doctrine is understood by Theoclia, Ohap. IX. She tells Thamyris that Paul taught, that *we should continue in chastity, i. e. not marry.* So Demas and Hermogenes represent him, Ch. XI. as teaching *there can be no future resurrection, unless ye continue in chastity, and do not defile your flesh, viz. by marrying :* accordingly Thamyris draws up his indictment before the judge against him, as asserting *matrimony to be unlawful,* Ch. XIV. To add no more, it was on this account Thecla left her intended husband Thamyris, and such mighty miracles attended her ; and, to support this doctrine, it is plain the whole book was calculated. But can any thing be more absurd, or contrary to truth ? This mad doctrine, had it been possible for it to have prevailed, must soon have extinguished and put an end to mankind on earth. Besides, nothing is more contrary to the known and confessed doctrine of St. Paul, who has in his received Epistles (which we may, considering what is already above said, presume to be of equal authority with these Acts of Paul and Thecla) *several times wrote* ^a *directly against those early Hereticks, who denied the lawfulness of marriage, 1 Cor. vii. 9. he styles such, 1 Tim. iv. 1, 2, 3. Departers from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits ; and calls the doctrines of those who forbid to marry, the doctrines of devils.* If then the history of these Acts be true, and Paul preached and taught as above, he manifestly contradicts himself : and I must own myself of the Manichee Faustus's mind, who said (see the place

^a See the former volume of this work, Part II. Ch. XVI. p. 209, &c.

above,

above, Ch. XXXIV. Num. 4.) upon the supposition of the history of Paul and Thecla to be true: If the doctrine of celibacy and perpetual virginity be false, *I cannot but be in pain for your own Apostle (Paul), lest he should be found himself to have established the doctrine of devils; when, by his discourse at Iconium, he incited Thecla to a vow of perpetual virginity, though she was at that time actually engaged to marry.* I see no possible method of answering the force of this heretick's argument, and to make the Apostle consistent with himself, if the history of Paul and Thecla should be true. It is evident therefore these Acts contained things false; and so, that they are Apocryphal by Prop. VIII.

2. *The introducing Paul with a known downright lie in his mouth, Ch. XIX. seems to me a just foundation to charge falsehood on these Acts of Paul and Thecla.* That he is so introduced, is evident; for after an intimate acquaintance between Paul and Thecla (Ch. XIV, XVII.), and their having taken a journey together to Antioch (Ch. XIX.), he is presently made to deny her, and to tell Alexander, *I know not the woman of whom you speak, nor does she belong to me.* But how contrary this is to the known and true character of St. Paul, every one must see. He who so boldly stood up for the defence of the Gospel against all sort of opposition, who hazarded and suffered all things for the sake of God and a good conscience, which he endeavoured to keep void of offence towards God and men, sure never would so easily have been betrayed to so gross a crime, to make a sacrifice of the credit of his profession, and the peace of his conscience at once upon so slight a temptation and provocation. Nor will it be of any force to object here, that, in the received Scriptures, Abraham is said twice to have denied his wife, viz. Gen. xii. 19. and xx. 2, &c. as also Isaac is said to have denied his, Gen. xxvi. 7, &c. and in the New Testament, that Peter denied his Master, and declared he did not know him, Matt. xxvi. 72. for the circumstances are in many cases very different, and especially in this, that Paul appeared now in no danger if he had confessed her; or, if he had been in danger, might have easily delivered himself from it; to which add, that he had undergone a thou-

land more difficult trials for the sake of God and a good conscience, and never was by fear betrayed into such a crime.

3. *It seems to be false in these Acts, that Paul is said (Ch. XXV.) to have given Thecla a commission to go forth and preach the Gospel: whereas this was contrary not only to the constant practice of both Jews and Gentiles, but to his own precepts in his genuine Epistles.*

1.) *It was contrary to the constant practice both of Jews and Gentiles, that any woman should publicly teach or speak in their assemblies. As to the Jews, there is a noted saying among them to this purpose^a, viz. אשה לא תקרא מפני כבוד הציבור i. e. A woman shall not read in the synagogue, because of the honour which is due to the synagogue (or assembly). Among the Romans it was so too. Quid fœminæ cum concione? Si patrius mos servetur, nihil. What have women to do to make publick speeches, or in publick assemblies? If we observe the customs of Rome, they have nothing to do in such matter, says Valerius Maximus^b.*

2.) *Women's teaching in the church is contrary to St. Paul's own precepts in his genuine Epistles. There are two places, which are remarkable, to this purpose, viz. that 1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35. Let your women keep silence in the churches, for it is not permitted to them to speak—(nor yet to ask questions in the church; for it follows) and if they will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home; for it is a shame for women to speak in the church; and 1 Tim. ii. 11, 12. Let the woman learn silence with all subjection; but I suffer not a woman to teach—but to be in silence. Now hence I argue these Acts of Paul and Thecla to be Apocryphal, as containing a notorious falsehood, in asserting that Paul commissioned Thecla to preach in the churches. For as nothing is more contrary to St. Paul's known character, than to introduce a custom which was so contrary to the practice of Jews and Gentiles, and which consequently would appear ridiculous to both, and be the means*

^a Vid. Capell. Spicileg. in 1 Cor. xiv. 34.

^b Lib. 3. c. 8. See other in-

stances in Grot. Annot. in 1 Cor. xiv. 34.

of prejudicing them against Christianity; so nothing can be a more direct contradiction to the precepts given to the Corinthians and Timothy, which are certainly his. And hence I conclude the said relation in these Acts to be false, and consequently the Acts themselves to be Apocryphal by Prop. VIII.

It is well known there are some among us, who contend for the reasonableness of women's publick preaching and teaching; with whom I have no farther concern here, than to vindicate the two texts of St. Paul, now cited, from their exceptions. The champion of the party (Robert Barclay, a man unquestionably of a good genius) thinks it answer enough to them to say, that *women have prophesied and preached in the church*^a; which is indeed true: but he should have observed, that it was only such women as were under the extraordinary influences and conduct of inspiration (as those he mentions referred to Acts ii. 17. and Philip's daughters, Acts xxi. 9.); of which inspiration, if the women who preach among them are able to give satisfactory evidence, I freely allow, that St. Paul's prohibitions do not extend to them.

^a See his Apology for the true Christian Divinity, or for the Quakers, Prop. X. p. 318.

C H A P. XXXVI.

Other Arguments to prove the Acts of Paul and Thecla to be Apocryphal; viz. because they contain silly Things, and Things much later than the Time in which the Book pretends to be written; e. g. The Sign of the Cross, and Prayers for the Dead: the Antiquity and Origin of this Custom discussed.

Arg. V. **T**HE Acts of Paul and Thecla are Apocryphal, because they contain several idle and fabulous relations, by Prop. IX. Such,

I. I take the description of Paul's person (Ch. II.) to be. I shall fix only on the latter part, in which he is said, *sometimes to have appeared as a man, sometimes to appear like, and have the countenance of an angel*; which is a description, as very unlike to any thing in the genuine writings of the New Testament, so exactly agreeable to the trifling fancies of the ancient Apocryphal books. So, for instance, in the spurious Acts made by Leucius Charinus under the names of the Apostles, we are told, that *Christ appeared often in various shapes to his disciples; sometimes as a young man, sometimes as an old man, and sometimes as a child; sometimes larger, sometimes less; sometimes so tall, as that his head would reach up to the heavens.* (See Phot. Bibl. Cod. CXIV. and the place at large in the first Volume of this work, Part II. Chap. XXI. p. 240.) I shall say nothing of the former part of the description, viz. of his personage, his *being of a low stature, bald, crooked thighs, hollow-eyed, had a crooked nose, &c.* only observe, that Dr. Grabe concludes from this the great antiquity of the book; because, says he *, there is a like description in Lucian's Philopatris. It is true, indeed, that merry Pagan introduces one of his speakers as a sort of Christian, and makes him to have received his knowledge of Christianity from one whom he calls the Galilean, and of whom he gives the following ac-

* Spicileg. Patr. tom. i. p. 334.

count, viz. * that he was bald behind, crook-nosed, and was taken up to the third heavens; that he there learnt things most excellent, made us new (creatures) by baptism, led us to follow the steps of the blessed, and has redeemed us from the (eternal) abodes of the wicked. But how will this prove the antiquity of the Acts of Paul and Thecla? *Why*, says the learned Doctor, *because no later writer would have described Paul thus.* But I would ask; Is the description true or false? If false, what will become of the Doctor's favourite Acts? If true, why should any one be ashamed or afraid to own, that Paul was no handsome man? Besides, several later writers have not been ashamed to mention it, as Chrysostom and Nicephorus in particular ^b; nay, several modern criticks have expounded those words of St. Paul, 2 Cor. x. 10. *His bodily presence is weak*, by this passage of Lucian. (See Joannes Stephanus Menochius, and Jacobus Tirinus, and Dr. Whitby in loc.) So that from the Doctor's argument it must follow, these late criticks also lived in the Apostles' time. After all, it is to be questioned whether this dialogue be really Lucian's; and Jacobus Micillus, who translated it into Latin, seems to believe the contrary ^c. And I will add, that perhaps the author in the words did not respect Paul, but Christ himself, when he says, *he hath redeemed us from the abodes of the wicked, or from hell*, which it is not likely a Christian would say of any one but Christ.

2. It seems very idle and fabulous, which is related Ch. IX. *that Paul should preach incessantly three days, and Thecla continue in her window without meat and drink during all that time.*

3. Nothing can look more with the air of romance, than the story of Falconilla's coming from the dead, and desiring her

* *Ἦνικα δὲ μοι Γαλιλαῖος ἐν-
τυχεν, ἀναφαντίας, ἐπίρριτος, ἐς
τρίτον ἕραν ἀεροβατίας, καὶ τὰ
κάλιστα ἐκμαθηκώς, δι' ὕδατος
ἡμᾶς ἀνικαίνουσι, ἐς τὰ τῶν μακά-
ρων ἰχθῦα παρισώδουσι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν
ἀσθενῶν χάρων ἡμᾶς ἰλυτρώσατο.* Phi-

lopat. §. 12. He had just before been describing the Trinity, viz. the Father, Son, and Spirit from the Father, *ἐν ἐκ τριῶν, καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς τρία*, one of three, and three of one, &c.

^b Apud Whitby in loc.

^c Argument. huic Dialog. præfix.

mother Trifina to entreat Thecla to pray for her, Ch. XX. I might have reckoned this among the evident falsehoods of this book under the former head; but I chose rather to omit it there, as I do to say more of it here, because I shall take more large notice of this matter in the next head, as an invention, or trick, found out long after the time in which it pretends to have been done.

4. *The story of the fishes swimming dead upon the surface of the water, in which Thecla was baptized, by means of the light which attended her baptism* (Ch. XXIII.), is an apparent fable. And indeed the author, in this circumstance of killing the fish, has unluckily exceeded; because his design did not lead him at all to destroy the fish, till Thecla was drowned, viz. that they might not devour her. See Ch. XXII. in the end.

Arg. VI. The Acts of Paul and Thecla are Apocryphal by Prop. X. because *they relate several things which were certainly much later than the time of St. Paul*; i. e. the time in which they are said to be transacted. I shall make choice of two plain instances.

1. *Thecla's signing her body with the sign of the cross.* This we meet with twice, viz. Ch. XV. when she was going upon the wood-pile, which was made for burning her; and Ch. XXVII. when she was about the second time to leave her mother, and go forth to preach the Gospel. But there is not the least evidence that there was any such superstitious custom introduced into the Church till the time of Tertullian; though afterwards it grew exceedingly common among the Christians. But this matter I have already more largely discussed in this Part, in my observations about the Gospel of Nicodemus^a.

2. A very demonstrative proof of this book's being a composition long after the Apostle's time, *I take the instance of Falconilla's appearing after her death to her mother Trifina, and desiring her to intreat Thecla to pray for her, that she might be translated into a state of happiness*; which Thecla accordingly

^a Ch. XXXII. p. 348, 349.

is said to do in these words, *O Lord God of heaven and earth, Jesus Christ, thou Son of the most High, grant her that her daughter Falconilla may live for ever.* (See Ch. XX.) Now this is certainly a fiction long after the Apostles' times, in whose lives or writings we never meet with any thing that can give the least colour to such doctrine as *prayers for the dead*; but on the other hand, we find them in a just pursuance of their Master's instruction, always declaring the states of men to be immediately fixed and determined, either to unalterable happiness or misery, immediately upon the soul's departure out of the body. I suppose it would appear to others, as it does to me, a very superfluous and needless undertaking to go about the proof of this, which, as well from plain declaration of Scripture, as from the nature of things, is so evident. It concerns me rather to shew the *novelty of the opinion and practice* of praying for the dead; which, I think, will be sufficiently done to my present purpose, by observing that we find nothing of it till the times of Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, &c. It is indeed certain, that very early in the second century many of the Christians had imbibed, out of the Pagan philosophy, very absurd and incongruous notions of the soul in its separate state; e. g. of its *going to subterraneous places, not entering into immediate happiness, or enjoying the beatifick vision of God till after the judgment and resurrection, &c.* Justin Martyr, though in the beginning of the dialogue with Trypho, p. 223, he seems to have determined rightly concerning the future state of souls; viz. that *those which are pious, should abide in some happier place; but those which are unboly and impious, in a miserable place, waiting for the judgment-day*^a: yet towards the end of that dialogue he seems to imagine otherwise, reasoning thus; viz. *It is apparent that all souls survive this life, because the witch of Endor called up Samuel's soul; whence it appears, that in like manner all the souls of the just men and prophets fall under the custody of some such power (or*

^a Τὰς μὲν τῶν εὐσεβῶν (ψυχὰς) τῆς κρίσεως ἰνδεχομένης χρόνον τότε.
 ἐν κρείττονι τοῖς χώροις μένειν, τὰς δὲ π. 223.
 ἀδίκους καὶ πορνῆας ἐν χεῖρον, τὸν

spirit) as was then in that witch. And therefore Christ committed his spirit into the hands of the Father. And we ought to pray to be delivered from such evil spirits at our death^a. Irenæus speaks more expressly to the same purpose: ^b *It is manifest that the souls of our Lord's disciples—shall go into a certain invisible place, appointed for them by God, and shall abide there until the resurrection, waiting for it, &c.* This opinion, supported by two such men, and many others of the first rank for piety and learning, grew very common in the second century; and from thence the growing superstition of the third century excited their compassion, and put them with a blind devotion upon praying for those whom they judged to be so miserable. But there is not yet the least evidence, that in the time or countries of the Fathers mentioned, there was any such practice as prayers for the dead, or the souls of those whom they judged not to have attained to heaven. Tertullian, as I have observed, is the first who mentions it. *Neque ejus ante Tertullianum fit mentio*, says the learned Scotchman Forbes^c; *Nor was it mentioned by any one before Tertullian*, who lived (according to Jerome^d) in the time of the Emperors Severus and Caracalla, i. e. in the very end of the second, and former part of the third century; nor yet by Tertullian, till after he had imbibed and owned the principles of Montanism. *Hanc consuetudinem postea ipse Tertullianus jam factus hæreticus Montanista approbat, ut Christianis etiam necessario usurpandam, &c.* This custom of praying for the happiness of the dead, which Tertullian himself intimates was an antient Pagan practice, he afterwards, when he fell into the heresy of

^a Φαίνεται δὲ καὶ ὅτι πᾶσαι αἱ ψυχὴν τῶν ὅπως δικαίων καὶ εὐσεβῶν ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν ἑκαστοῦ τῶν τοιούτων δυνάμεων, ὅποια δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἰσχυρομένῳ ἵκνῃται, &c. p. 333.

^b Manifestum est, quia et discipulorum ejus—animæ abibunt in invisibilem locum, definitum eis a Deo, et ibi usque ad resurrectionem commorabuntur, sustinentes resurrectionem. Adver. Hæres. lib. 5. c. 31. This is reckoned among the

errors of Irenæus by Scultetus, Me-dull. Patr. l. 1. c. 8. and Daillé; See *Right Use of the Fathers*, book 2. ch. 4. p. 65. although Feuardantius, by a method more ingenious than just, endeavours to clear him, and give another sense to his words. Vid. Annot. in loc. Iren. p. 493.

^c Instruct. Historic. Theolog. l. 13. c. 10. §. 3.

^d Catal. Vir. Illustr. in Tertull.

the Montanists, did approve, as what ought to be used by the Christians, says the learned Scotch author now cited *. The truth of which will appear by this single consideration, that every one of the books, in which there is any mention of, or reference to, this custom, were wrote by him after his fall into Montanism (viz. *De Testimon. Animæ adv. Gent. c. 4. De Corona Militis, c. 3. Exhort. ad Castitat. c. 11. De Monogamia, c. 10* b.). It is evident therefore, that the offering up prayer for the dead, i. e. for the rest and happiness of departed souls, was not in use till the latter end of the second, or beginning of the third century; and consequently that the Acts of Paul and Thecla, which mention this custom, must be wrote in or after this time, which is an undeniable evidence of their being both spurious and Apocryphal by Prop. X. The Magdeburg centuriators are of opinion, that this custom arose from Montanus; but of this, for want of evidence, I shall say nothing, only refer the reader to their book, and Pamelius's objection to this opinion of theirs. See Pamel. in Tertull. de Coron. Milit. c. 3.

It may indeed be objected, that *the practice of praying for the dead, or departed souls, is mentioned in the Constitutions of the Apostles, and the writings under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite*; and accordingly these are appealed to by Durant c, and many of the Popish writers, for proof of this point. (Vid. Pamel. loc. cit.)

To which I answer, that it is indeed true, the rite of praying for souls in their separate state, is plainly enough mentioned in these books. In the pretended Constitutions of the Apostles (book 8. c. 41.) we are not only *exhortèd to pray for our brethren that are at rest in Christ, that God, who has received their souls, would forgive them every sin, voluntary and involuntary, and be merciful to them, and give them their lot in the land of the pious, &c. but we have a form of prayer for a deceased person prepared for the Bishop to make use of*. In the

* Loc. jam cit.

b See Dr. Cave's Hist. Liter. p. 58, Jerome's Catal. Vir. Illustr. in Tertull.

c De Ritib. Eccles. Catholic. lib. 2. c. 43. in init.

book under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite ^a, we meet with the same doctrine; and in the form for burying the dead, the Bishop is instructed to address the divine mercy, and pray that God would pardon all the sins of the deceased person, which were committed through human infirmity; that he would place him in the (world of) light, and region of the living, in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, &c. And a little farther, the Priest or Bishop is taught to pray, that God would bestow sacred rewards on all such who did live piously ^b. But neither of these testimonies will gain the least antiquity to the practice, it being a thing which has been often demonstrated, and is now acknowledged almost by every one, that both the Constitutions (as they are called) of the Apostles, and the works of Dionysius the Areopagite, are the forgeries of some silly impostors, who lived at the distance of several centuries from the Apostles' time. And indeed to me it seems a very convictive argument of the lateness of both these works, that they have this business of praying for the souls of the deceased mentioned in them; and accordingly I observe, that Mr. Turner ^c, in his discourse about the Constitutions against Mr. Whiston, makes the above-cited passage of prayers for the dead to be *one probable mark of their forgery*. In the ages in which these spurious books were written, no doctrine, no practice more common, than that of prayers and sacrifices for separate souls. It spread very much in the third, and fourth centuries; and I have seen the mention of it (besides in the places above cited) in Cyprian ^d, Epiphanius ^e, who warmly disputes for it, and reckons Aerius among the hereticks for opposing it; Cyril of Jerusalem ^f, Austin in diverse places ^g;

^a De Ecclesiast. Hierarch. cap. 7. §. 4.

^b Ibid. §. 7.

^c Ch. 23. p. 274.

^d Epist. 66. Though the learned anonymous Protestant Annotator on Cyprian says there, which is very strange, *Nulla Cypriani seculo preces pro defunctis*; but he is certainly mistaken.

^e Hæret. 75. §. 3. 7.

^f Catech. Mystagog. v. §. 6. Cocus (Censur. quorund. vet. Scriptur. p. 117, 118.) and Rivet (Crit. Sac. l. 3. c. 8, 10.) endeavour to prove, that these five Mystagogical Catecheses are not Cyrill's: but Dr. Cave labours to prove they are, Hist. Liter. vol. 1. p. 163.

^g Enchirid. ad Laurent. c. 110. De Civitat. Dei, lib. 5. c. 20. De Hæresib. ad Quodvult. Num. 53.

to omit a multitude of other writers of the succeeding ages, which, with whatsoever is to be said on this subject, he who has a mind may see in Pamelius ^a, Chemnitius ^b, Durant ^c, Forbes ^d, &c.

Upon the whole, I hope, I have sufficiently proved these Acts of Paul and Thecla to be spurious and Apocryphal; and shall only add, that though some of the Popish party have esteemed them genuine (as Molanus, and others), in order to support the above-mentioned doctrine, yet the more learned and impartial have rejected them as fictitious and fabulous, as Bellarmin and Durant. *Quare quod de Trajano et Falconilla, quos liberatos ex inferno orationibus S. Gregorii et Theclæ ex Damasceno et quibusdam aliis vulgo fertur — ficta et commentitia sunt, quod pluribus probat eruditus Bellarminus* ^e: Wherefore, says Durant, that which is commonly reported out of Damascene, and others, concerning Trajan and Falconilla being delivered out of hell by the prayers of St. Gregory and Thecla, is fictitious and forged, which the learned Bellarmine has largely proved, Controvers. 6. 1. 2. c. 8.

If at last I were to offer my conjecture concerning the original and progress of these Acts of Paul and Thecla, it should be this: that whereas it is very certain, and I have largely proved (Vol. I. Par. II. Ch. XVI. p. 209, &c.), that in the very infancy of Christianity, great numbers of persons called Christians, asserted the unlawfulness of marriage, and contended for celibacy, the presbyter of Asia took occasion from the growth of this opinion to forge these Acts, to which, as the opinion grew more received, additions were made for many ages for its support.

^a In varia Tertulliani et Cypriani loca supra citata.

^b Exam. Concil. Trident. par. 3. p. 138, &c.

^c De Ritib. Eccles. Cathol. lib. 2. c. 43.

^d Instruēt. Historic. Theolog. lib. 13. c. 8, 9.

^e Durant, loc. cit.

C H A P. XXXVII.

The Reasons of considering the Epistle of Barnabas here : all the Testimonies of the Antients (viz. Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome) concerning it.

I Proposed here to have finished the third part of this work, but find it will be by no means proper to do it without some consideration of the Epistle of Barnabas ; this being a book extant, which seems to lay a more pompous claim to Canonical authority than many others. There are indeed, ranked commonly along with Barnabas, other antient pieces, for whom also learned men have made very considerable claims, viz. *The two Epistles of Clemens Romanus to the Corinthians, The Shepherd of Hermes, The Constitutions of the Apostles, The Epistle of Polycarp, The Epistles of Ignatius, and some such other.* I designed in this volume particularly to have considered each of these, and refuted their respective claims ; but am obliged to lay aside this work for the present, partly because the inserting them would make this volume too large, and much beyond the size proposed, and partly because the Apostolick Fathers will for several reasons appear better in a distinct volume, which, after this is finished, with the blessing of God I intend. But the Epistle of Barnabas was by no means to be omitted ; it is that which of all the Apostolick Fathers bids fairest for Canonical authority, as pretending to be wrote by one who was *expressly set apart and sent forth to the work of an Apostle by the order of the Holy Ghost, Acts xiii. 2, 3, 4.* is called *an Apostle, Acts xiv. 14.* and said to be *a good man, full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, Acts xi. 24.* He was long a constant companion of St. Paul in his journeys for the propagation of Christianity. His Epistle is called *The Catholick Epistle of Barnabas*, cited by some of the antient Fathers, read in the Churches, generally esteemed by learned men in all parts to have been genuine, and placed by many of them in a rank little inferior to those of the sacred Canon, and by some judged of equal authority with the books
of

of the Canon. All this makes it absolutely necessary this Epistle should be considered here. As it is in our language already, I shall not insert it here, but refer the English reader to the translation made by his Grace the present Archbishop of Canterbury.

- In discussing this Epistle, I will,

- (1.) Produce the testimonies of the antient writers concerning it.
- (2.) Shew the sentiments of more modern writers.
- (3.) Make the best reflections upon the whole which I am able; and endeavour to shew it to be a spurious, Apocryphal, and silly piece.

(1.) I shall first produce the testimonies of the antient writers within the first four centuries relating to this Epistle, according to the order of time in which they lived: among these, the principal is,

I. CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS.

1.) *Stromat. lib. 2. p. 373.*

Εἰκότως ἔν ὃ Ἀπόστολος Βαρ-
νάβας, Ἀφ' ἧ, φησὶν, ἔλαβον
μέρους, ἐσπούδασα κατὰ μικρὸν
ὑμῖν πέμψαι· ἵνα μετὰ τῆς
πίστεως ὑμῶν, τελείαν ἔχητε
καὶ τὴν γνῶσιν. Τῆς μὲν ἔν
πίστεως ἡμῶν εἰσιν οἱ συλλή-
πτορες φόβος καὶ ὑπομονή· τὰ
δὲ συμμαχῶντα ἡμῖν μακρο-
θυμία καὶ ἐγκράτεια. Τύτων
ἔν, φησὶ, τὰ πρὸς τὸν Κύριον,
μενόντων ἀγνῶς, συνευφραίνον-
ται αὐτοῖς, σοφία, σύνεσις,
ἐπιστήμη, γνῶσις.

Rightly therefore said the Ap-
postle Barnabas: *Out of the
portion (of knowledge) which
I have received, I have endeav-
oured briefly to write to you,
that together with your faith
you may also have a perfect
knowledge.* (This is to be
found in the present Epistle
of Barnabas, Ch. I. What
follows is in Ch. II.) *The
assistants therefore of our faith
are fear and patience; our fel-
low-soldiers are long-suffering
and temperance. So then (says
he) while these abide pure in
things relating to the Lord,
wisdom, understanding, learning, and knowledge, rejoice together
with them.*

2.) *Ejusdem*

2.) *Ejusdem libri*, p. 375.

Καὶ Βαρνάβας ὁ Ἀπόστολος,
Οὐαὶ οἱ συνετοὶ παρ' ἐαυτοῖς,
καὶ ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν ἐπισήμονες,
προτάξας², ἐπήγαγεν· Πνευ-
ματικοὶ γενώμεθα, ναὸς τέ-
λει³ τῷ Θεῷ· ἐφ' ὅσον ἐσὶν
ἐφ' ἡμῖν, μελετῶμεν τὸν φόβον
τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ φυλάσσειν ἀγωνι-
ζώμεθα τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ, ἵνα
ἐν τοῖς δικαιομασιν αὐτοῦ εὐ-
φρανθῶμεν.

And the Apostle Barnabas (first citing those words of Isaiah, ver. 21. *Wo unto them that are wise in their own eyes, and prudent in their own conceit*) adds, *Let us be spiritual, a perfect temple to God, and, as far as we are able, let us consider the fear of God, and strive to keep his commandments, that we may rejoice in his judgments.* This is in the Epistle of Barnabas, Ch. IV.

3.) *Ejusdem libri*, p. 389.

Clemens there cites Barnabas by name, and takes out of him a passage which is in the tenth chapter of the Epistle under his name; but in another place cites the passage more largely, and thence I shall take it and insert it below, Num. 6.

4.) *Ejusdem libri*, p. 396, 397.

Ἀμέλει μουσικῶς ὁ Βαρνάβας·
Ὁ δὲ Θεὸς ὁ τῷ παντὸς κόσμῳ
κυριεύων, φησὶ, δῶν καὶ ὑμῖν
σοφίαν καὶ σύνεσιν, ἐπισήμην,
γνώσιν τῶν δικαιοματίων αὐτοῦ,
ὑπομονήν. Γίνεσθε ἔν θεοδί-
δακτοι, ἐκζητῶντες τί ζητεῖ ὁ
Κύριος⁴ ἀφ' ὑμῶν, ἵνα εὕρητε
ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως.

Barnabas really spoke mystically, and said: *May that God, who is ruler of all the world, give you wisdom and prudence, understanding and knowledge of his judgments, and patience. May ye be taught of God, seeking to know what the Lord requires of you, that you may find (mercy) in the day of judgment*². This is in

the last chapter of the Epistle of Barnabas.

5.) *Ejusdem*

² [Vulg. προτάξας.]

³ I make no scruple to end the paragraph according to the punctu-

ation of Cotelierius, who has evidenced the present punctuation in the printed copies of Clemens to be absurd;

5.) *Ejusdem libri*, p. 410, 411.

Ὅπως δὲ ἡμεῖς τῷ Διαβόλῳ
ταῖς ἐνεργείαις καὶ τὰ πνεύ-
ματα ἀκάθαρτα εἰς τὴν τῷ
ἀμαρτωλῷ ψυχὴν ἐπισπείρειν
φαμέν, ἔ μοι δεῖ πλεόνων λό-
γων, παραθεμένῳ μάρτυρι τὸν
ἀποστολικὸν Βαρνάβαν· ὁ δὲ
τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα ἦν, καὶ συν-
εργὸς τῷ Παύλῳ· κατὰ λέξιν
ὡδὲ πως λέγοντα· Πρὸ τῷ
ἡμᾶς πισεύσαι τῷ Θεῷ, ἦν
ἡμῶν τὸ οἰκητήριον τῆς καρδίας
φθαρτὸν καὶ ἀσθενές, ἀληθῶς
οἰκοδομητὸς ναὸς διὰ χειρὸς·
ὅτι ἦν πληρὴς μὲν εἰδωλολα-
τρίας, καὶ ἦν οἰκὴ δαιμό-
νων, διὰ τὸ ποιεῖν ὅσα ἦν ἐναν-
τία τῷ Θεῷ.—Προσέχετε
ἵνα ὁ ναὸς τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐνδόξως
οἰκοδομηθῇ· πῶς; μάθετε, λα-
βόντες τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἀμαρ-
τιῶν, καὶ ἐλπίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ
ἔνομα, γενώμεθα καινοὶ πάλιν,
ἐξ ἀρχῆς κτιζόμενοι.—Διό

How is it that we hold the
influences of the Devil and
evil spirits upon the soul of a
sinner, needs not that I should
declare in many words, but
only that I make use of the
testimony of the Apostolick
Barnabas (for he was one of
the seventy, and a fellow-la-
boureer with Paul) speaking in
the following manner: *Before
we were believers on God, the
tabernacle of our hearts was
corrupt and impotent (to any
good), and properly as a tem-
ple built with hands; for it
was full of idolatry, the habi-
tation of Devils, because every
thing that was opposite to God
was done in it.—Consider,
that now the Temple of the
Lord is gloriously built; How?
Learn, that receiving the for-
giveness of our sins, and having
hope in the name of the Lord,
we are made new again. (as)
we were made at first.—*

absurd; though, I confess, upon
this correction there seems to be a
word wanting, which I have sup-
plied in my translation by the word
mercy; and so it well agrees with the
present Greek of Barnabas.

* It is evident that there ought
to be a correction of the copies both
of Barnabas and Clemens in this
place, and that the comma ought to
be inserted after πάλιν, to join it
with the former words; and that

the particle ὡς, or ὡσεῖ, or some
such, must be inserted after it.
Without this, how odd is the
phrase! Let the Archbishop's trans-
lation, in which he has followed
the present punctuation, shew it: he
translates thus after the Greek—*We
are become renewed, being again
created from the beginning; of
which I confess myself unable to
make any sensible construction.*

ἐν τῷ κατοικητηρίῳ ἡμῶν ἀλη-
θῶς ὁ Θεὸς κατοικεῖ ἐν ἡμῖν.
Πῶς; ὁ λόγος αὐτῆ τῆς
πίστεως, ἡ κλήσις αὐτῆ τῆς
ἐπαγγελίας, ἡ σοφία τῶν δι-
καιωμάτων, αἱ ἐντολαὶ τῆς
διδασχῆς.

So that God really dwells in
our tabernacle, i. e. in us.
But how? viz. The word of
his faith, the calling of his
promise, the wisdom of his
judgments, and the commands
of his instruction. This is in
Barnabas's Epistle, Ch. XVI.

6.) *Stromat. lib. 5. p. 571, 572.*

Ἐμπαλιν δὲ ἐπιτρέπει διχη-
λῆν καὶ μαρυκώμενον ἐσθίειν
μηνύων, φησὶν ὁ Βαρνάβας,
κολλᾶσθαι δεῖν μετὰ τῶν
φοβημένων τὸν Κύριον, καὶ
μετὰ τῶν μελετώντων ὃ ἔλαβον
διάσαλμα ῥήματος ἐν τῇ
καρδίᾳ, μετὰ τῶν λαλούντων
δικαιώματα Κυρίου καὶ τηρούν-
των, μετὰ τῶν εἰδόντων ὅτι ἡ
μελέτη ἐστὶν ἔργον εὐφροσύνης,
καὶ ἀναμαρυκώμενων τὸν λό-
γον Κυρίου. Τί δὲ τὸ διχη-
λῆν; ὅτι ὁ δίκαιος καὶ ἐν
τάτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ περιπατεῖ,
καὶ τὸν ἁγίον αἰῶνα ἐκδέχεται.
Εἵτα ἐπιφέρει· Βλέπετε, πῶς
ἐνομοθέτησεν ὁ Μωϋσῆς κα-
λῶς. Ἀλλὰ πῶθεν ἐκείνοις
ταῦτα νοῆσαι ἢ συνιέναι;
ἡμεῖς δικαίως νοήσαντες τὰς
ἐντολάς, λαλῶμεν ὡς ἡθέλησεν

Again (*Moses*) permitted them
to eat those animals which di-
vided the hoof and chewed the
cud^b; teaching us thereby,
says Barnabas, that we ought
to associate with those who fear
the Lord, and with those who
meditate upon the word which
they have received, as it was
divided to them; with those
who declare the judgments of
the Lord, and obey them; with
those who know that medita-
tion is a work of pleasure, and
so ruminate (or chew) upon
the word of the Lord. But
why might they eat those who
divided the hoof? Because the
just man, though he live here
on earth, has his expectations
from an holy eternity. Then
he adds: See what excellent
laws *Moses* gave! But how
came they by the knowledge and
understanding of these things?

As for our part, we duly con-
sider his commands, and so speak as the Lord's mind is

^a Lev. xi. 4, &c. Deut. xiv. 4, &c.

because

Κύριος^ⲉ διὰ τῆτο περιέτεμε
 τὰς ἀκοὰς ἡμῶν καὶ τὰς καρ-
 δίας, ἵνα συνιώμεν ταῦτα. Καὶ
 μὴν ὅτ' ἂν λέγη, Οὐ φάγη
 τὸν αἰτὸν, τὸν ὀξύπτερον καὶ
 τὸν ἱκτινεν, καὶ τὸν κόρακα,
 ἔκ κολλαθήσῃ, φησὶν, ἐδὲ ἐ-
 μοιωθήσῃ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τέ-
 τοις, οἳ ἐκ ἰσασὶ διὰ πῖναι καὶ
 ἰδρωτὸς πορίζειν ἑαυτοῖς τὴν
 τροφήν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀρπαγῇ καὶ
 ἀνομίᾳ βιῶσιν.

*because he hath circumcised our
 ears and hearts, that we should
 understand these things. And
 when he says, Thou shalt not
 eat the eagle, nor the hawk,
 nor the kite, nor the crow, he
 means, Thou shalt not associate
 with, nor be like to those men,
 who know not how by their la-
 bour and sweat to get them-
 selves food, but live in rapine
 and oppression. This is all in
 Barnabas's Epistle, Ch. X.*

7.) *Ejusdem libri*, p. 577, 578.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ Βαρναβᾶς, ὁ καὶ
 αὐτὸς συγκηρύξας τῷ ἀπο-
 σόλῳ κατὰ τὴν διακονίαν τῶν
 ἱερῶν τὸν λόγον, Ἀπλᾶς ερον,
 φησὶν, ὑμῖν γράφω ἵνα συνήτε.
 Εἶδ' ὑποβάς, ἥδη σαφέστερον
 γνωστῆς παραδόσεως ἔχον^ⲉ
 παρατιθέμεν^ⲉ λέγει· Τί λέ-
 γει ὁ ἄλλος^ⲉ προφήτης Μωϋσῆς
 αὐτοῖς; Ἰδὲ τάδε λέγει Κύ-
 ριος^ⲉ ὁ Θεός, Εἰσελθετε εἰς
 τὴν γῆν τὴν ἀγαθὴν, ἣν ὤμο-
 σεν Κύριος^ⲉ ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός
 Ἀβραάμ, καὶ Ἰσαάκ, καὶ
 Ἰακώβ· καὶ κατὰκληρονομή-
 σατε αὐτὴν γῆν ῥέουσαν γάλα

So also Barnabas, who was a
 fellow-preacher with the A-
 postle in his ministry of the
 Word among the Gentiles,
 said, *I write to you more plain-
 ly, that ye may understand.*
 And a little after, citing a
 more plain instance out of the
 wisest of all books, he adds,
*What says another Prophet,
 Moses, to them? Enter ye into
 the good land, which the Lord
 God, the God of Abraham, and
 Isaac, and Jacob hath sworn
 (to give you), and ye shall in-
 herit a land flowing with milk
 and honey^b. Consider now*

^a Exod. iii. 7, 8.

καὶ μέλι. Τί λέγει ἡ γνώσις, μάθετε· ἐλπίζατε, φησὶν, ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν σαρκὶ μέλλοντα φανεῖσθαι ὑμῖν Ἰησοῦν· ἄνθρωπος γὰρ γῆ ἐστὶ πάσχεσθαι ἀπὸ προσώπου γὰρ γῆς ἡ πλάσις τῆς Ἀδὰμ ἐγένετο. Τί ἔτι λέγει εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ἀγαθὴν, τὴν ῥέεσαν γάλα καὶ μέλι; εὐλογητὸς Κύριος ἡμῶν, ἀδελφοί, ὁ σοφίαν καὶ νῦν θέμεν ἐν ἡμῖν τῶν κρυφίων αὐτῆς· λέγει γὰρ ὁ προφήτης, Παραβολὴν Κυρίου τίς νοήσει, εἰ μὴ σοφὸς καὶ ἐπιστήμων καὶ ἀγαπῶν τὸν Κύριον αὐτῆς; Epist. Barnab. c. 6.

what the meaning of this is; it is as if he said, Depend upon Jesus, who will hereafter be manifested in the flesh. For man is the earth which suffers; for the first man was made out of the superficies of the earth. But what does he mean by the land flowing with milk and honey? Brethren, blessed be our Lord, who has given us wisdom and understanding in his secrets; for the Prophet says, Who shall understand the hard sayings of the Lord?*

These are all the places in which Clemens Alexandrinus expressly cites any part of this Epistle^b. He mentions indeed the name of Barnabas in another place (viz. Stromat. l. 6. p. 646.); but Cotelerius^c and Dr. Grabe^d have conjectured, that it was through a defect in memory, the words which he cites being in the first Epistle of Clemens Romanus to the Corinthians, Ch. XLVIII. and not in any part of Barnabas's Epistle (see above, Vol. I. Part II. Ch. VIII. p. 161.); which, as I have said in the place cited, seems probable, unless we will choose rather to suppose, that the name of Barnabas was by some busy scribe inserted in the room of Clemens; which one would be the more inclined to believe, because few

* Isaiah xl. 13. Prov. i. 6. Eccles. i. 10. are the places which Cotelerius supposes to be referred to here. There seems to me something wanting in the copies both of Barnabas and Clemens here; there being no answer given to the preced-

ing question.

^b Clemens in Pædagog. l. 2. c. 10. p. 188. alludes to Barnabas, ch. x. but does not name him.

^c Testim. præfix. Patr. Apost. p. 3.

^d Spicileg. Patr. tom. i. p. 303. lines

lines after this Clemens Romanus is cited, and a passage taken out of his Epistle to the Corinthians, ch. xx. and, if I am not much mistaken, Clemens Alexandrinus in another place (viz. Stromat. lib. i. p. 289.) citing this very passage, does expressly ascribe it to Clemens Romanus, and subjoins the very next words following in that Epistle of his to the Corinthians, ch. xlviii. Which puts the matter beyond all doubt, that Clemens Alexandrinus's copies are here corrupted, and the name of Barnabas falsely inserted here instead of Clemens.

2. ORIGEN has cited the Epistle of Barnabas.

1.) *Contr. Celf. lib. 1. p. 49.*

Γέγραπται δὲ ἐν τῇ Βαρνάβᾳ
Καθολικῇ Ἐπιστολῇ (ὅθεν ὁ
Κέλσος λαβὼν τάχα εἶπεν,
εἶναι ἐπιρρήτως καὶ πονηροτά-
τως τὰς ἀποστόλους), ὅτι ἐξε-
λέξατο τὰς ἰδίους ἀποστόλους
Ἰησοῦς, ὄντας ὑπὲρ πάντων
ἀνομίαν ἀνομιωτέρους.

It is true indeed, it is written
in the Catholick Epistle of
Barnabas (and perhaps that is
the very place, which gave
Celsus a handle to represent
the Apostles as the vilest and
most infamous persons) *that*
Jesus chose those to be his own
Apostles, who were exceeding
great sinners. Epist. Barnab.
Ch. V.

This passage out of Barnabas, with what precedes it in Origen, from those words ὅτι τοῖς δυναμένοις, pag. 48. lin. 10. to those οὐκ οἶδα, pag. 49. lin. 42. is also in the extracts of Gregory Nazianzen and Basil out of Origen's works, intitled *Philocalia*. (See Ch. XVIII.)

2.) *De Princip. lib. 3. c. 2. fol. 144.*

Eadem quoque Barnabas in
Epistola sua declarat, cum duas
vias esse dicit, unam lucis, al-
teram tenebrarum; quibus et
præesse certos quoque Ange-
los dicit: viæ quidem lucis
Angelos Dei, tenebrarum au-

To the same purpose Barna-
bas speaks in his Epistle, when
he saith, *That there are two*
ways, the one of light, the other
of darkness, over both which
certain Angels preside; viz.
the Angels of God over the

tem viz Angelos · Satanæ.
Cap. XVII. Barnab.

way of light, and the angels of
Satan over the way of dark-
ness.

3. EUSEBIUS.

1.) *Hist. Eccles. lib. 3. c. 25.*

Ἐν τοῖς νόθοις κατατετάχθω
— ἡ φερομένη Βαρνάβα ἐ-
πισολή.

The Epistle which is carried
about under the name of Bar-
nabas, is to be ranked among
the books which are spurious.

2.) *Idem Hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 13.*

Κέχρηται δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ
ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων
γραφῶν μαρτυρίαις, τῆς τε
λεγόμενης Σολομῶντος Σοφί-
ας, καὶ τῆς Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Σιραχ,
καὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπισο-
λῆς, τῆς τε Βαρνάβα, καὶ
Κλήμεντος, καὶ Ἰούδα.

Besides he (viz. Clemens A-
lexandrinus) in his Stromata
takes some testimonies out of
those Scriptures which are re-
jected by some; viz. *The Wis-
dom of Solomon, The Wisdom
of the Son of Syrach, The E-
pistle to the Hebrews, The E-
pistle of Barnabas, and Cle-
mens and Jude.*

3.) *Hist. Eccl. lib. 6. c. 14.*

Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ὑποτυπώσεσι πά-
σης τῆς ἐνδιαθήκης γραφῆς
πεποιήται διηγήσεις, μὴδε τὰς
ἀντιλεγόμενας παρελθόν· τὴν
Ἰούδα λέγω καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς
Καθολικὰς Ἐπιστολάς, τὴν τε
Βαρνάβα καὶ τὴν Πέτρου λε-
γομένην Ἀποκάλυψιν.

In his book called *Hypotyposes*
(the same Clemens) has wrote
some short commentaries upon
all the books of Scripture,
not omitting even the contro-
verted books; I mean *that of
Jude, and the other Catholick
Epistles, the Epistle of Barna-
bas, and that called the Reve-
lation of Peter.*

4. JEROME.

1.) *Catal. Vir. Illust. in Barnab.*

Barnabas Cyprius, qui et Jo-
seph Levites, cum Paulo gen-

Barnabas of Cyprus, called
also Joseph the Levite, was
ordained

tium Apostolus ordinatus, unam ad ædificationem Ecclesiæ pertinentem Epistolam composuit, quæ inter Apocryphas Scripturas legitur.

ordained Apostle of the Gentiles together with Paul, and has wrote one Epistle for the edification of the Church, which is read among the Apocryphal Scriptures.

2.) *Idem Comment. in Ezek. xliii. 19.*

Vitulum autem qui pro nobis immolatus est, et multa Scripturarum loca, et præcipue Barnabæ Epistola, quæ habetur inter Scripturas Apocryphas, nominat.

Many parts of Scripture, and especially the Epistle of Barnabas, which is reckoned among the Apocryphal Scriptures, mentions (*Christ under the representation of*) a young beast (*or the heifer*, Num. ch.

xix.) which was sacrificed for us^a. Epist. Barnab. Ch. VIII.

3.) *Idem, adv. Pelag. lib. 3. c. 1.*

Ignatius (*lege* Barnabas) vir apostolicus et martyr scribit audacter; Elegit Dominus Apostolos, qui super omnes homines peccatores erant.

Ignatius (he meant, if he did not write, Barnabas) an apostolick man and a martyr, boldly writes, *The Lord chose his Apostles, who were sinners above all men.*

Cotelerius^b and others suppose Jerome by fault of memory to have mistaken Ignatius for Barnabas, the passage being so clear in the latter, and no where to be found in the writings of the former; though Dr. Bernard^c, after Archbishop Usher^d, by an ingenious conjecture supposes the mistake to have happened from this, viz. that the Epistles of Barnabas and Ignatius were joined in one volume, and by that means Jerome cited what he knew was in the volume where Barnabas was, though it happened not to be in Barnabas.

^a Hugo Menardus has observed this place, and that it can only refer to the eighth chapter of Barnabas. See his note there, 96.

^b Testimon. præfix. Ep. Barnab.

^c Vid. ejus Adnot. annex. edit. Oxon. hujus epistolæ.

^d Vid. Præfat. edit. Oxon.

4.) *Idem Lib. de interpret. nomin. Hebraic. ex Epistola
Barnabæ.*

Abraham, pater videns populum.	<i>Abraham, i. e.</i> a father seeing people.
Amalec, populus lingens, five populus brutus.	<i>Amalec, i. e.</i> a people lapping, or a brutish people.
David, desiderabilis.	<i>David, i. e.</i> desirable.
Eva, calamitas, aut certe vita.	<i>Eve, i. e.</i> calamity, or it is certainly life.
Ephraim, frugifer five ubertas.	<i>Ephraim, i. e.</i> fruitful, or fruitfulness.
Manasse, oblitus.	<i>Manasse, i. e.</i> having forgot.
Nahum, germen.	<i>Nahum, i. e.</i> a sprout.
Rebecca, patientia.	<i>Rebecca, i. e.</i> patience.
Sabbata, requies.	<i>Sabbath, i. e.</i> rest.
Sion, specula.	<i>Sion, i. e.</i> a watch-tower.
Sina, mensura, mandatum, tentatio.	<i>Sina, i. e.</i> a measure, command, or trial.
Satan, adversarius, five prævaricator.	<i>Satan, i. e.</i> an adversary, a deceiver.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

The Sentiments of modern Writers concerning the Epistle of Barnabas, viz. Archbishop Usher, Hugo Menardus, Archbishop Laud, Isaac Vossius, Cotelerius, Bishop Fell, Dr. Bernard, Mr. Dodwell, Mr. Du Pin, Dr. Cave, Frederick Spanheim, Mr. Toland, the present Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Mill, Mr. Eachard, Dr. S. Clark, Mr. Whiston, Mr. Le Clerc, and Dr. Jenkin.

HAVING thus produced all that I know, which is said by the antients within my time, concerning the Epistle of Barnabas, I proceed now to give the reader some account of the sentiments of modern writers on the same. And here,

as in other cases, we shall find them divided into various and differing opinions. I shall recite them according to the order of time, in which they lived or wrote.

1. Archbishop USHER^a.

He was the first who undertook the publishing or printing this Epistle in the world, in the year 1643; but by means of a great fire which happened that year, at Oxford, the printing-house with all its furniture was destroyed, and, among the rest, the manuscript copy of Barnabas, with all the Archbishop's notes, and nothing saved, but only a few pages which were in the corrector's hands, which were procured of him by Dr. Bernard, and given by him to Bishop Fell, who published them in the preface to his edition of Barnabas at Oxford, 1685.

What this learned primate's opinion was concerning the author and authority of this Epistle, is not (as Bishop Fell observes) fully expressed in any part of this Fragment; yet there are no contemptible evidences therein, that he esteemed it the work of some unknown author, who wrote not long after the time of Barnabas, and that it was excluded from the Canon by the judgment of the universal Church; which never received any works ascribed to Barnabas.

2. HUGO MENARDUS^b.

He was a Benedictine monk (or, which is the same^c, of the order of St. Maurus), and prepared an edition of this Epistle out of a Greek manuscript, which he had from Father Sirmond, and an antient Latin Version of it, which was found in a manuscript of the Abbey of Corbey, near a thousand years old; but he dying before he could publish it, Father Don Luke d'Acherry printed it after his death at Paris, 1645^d. Me-

^a Præfat. edit. Oxon.

^b Vid. Menard. judic. præfix. huic epistolæ in Clerici edit. Patrum Apostolic.

^c St. Maurus was one of the disciples of Benedictus Nursinus, the founder of this order, as indeed

of most of the monastick discipline in the sixth century, &c. Vid. Spanheim. Hist. Eccl. Sec. vi. §. 13. p. 1147, 1148.

^d Dupin's History of the Canon, vol. ii. c. 6. §. 7. p. 133.

nardus observes, that it was justly esteemed to be Apocryphal by Eusebius, Jerome, &c. not only because it was uncertain whether this Epistle was wrote by Barnabas, but because there are some silly and inexcusable things in it. Nor does it at all prove to the contrary, that Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen have cited it without expressly mentioning that it was Apocryphal; because they have in like manner cited other books certainly Apocryphal; as *The Book of Enoch, The Shepherd, The Traditions of Matthias, &c.* The design of it is, to prove against the Christian Jews (or Ebionites), that the law of Moses was utterly abrogated, and not to be joined with Christianity.

3. Archbishop LAUD*.

The same Hugo Menardus, when he had prepared his edition of Barnabas, sent it over by the Lord Scudamore, English ambassador at Paris, to Archbishop Laud, for his opinion and judgment of it; who returned him in answer, that though the Epistle of Barnabas was old, it was so far from being Canonical, in his opinion, that he believed it was not wrote by Barnabas, for the three following reasons.

1. Because the Numeral Divinity, as he calls it (viz. the proof of the Messiah from the three letters I. H. T. which signify one hundred and eighteen, the number of persons whom Abraham circumcised; see Ch. IX. of this Epistle), looks very unlike the spirit or air of an Apostle.

2. Because he proves that the world will have its end in the year six thousand; (because God was six days in making it, and to every day a thousand years are allowed; for God says, *A thousand years are with him as one day*). See Ch. XV.

3. Because he speaks expressly of the destruction of Jerusalem. (See Ch. XVI.)

This letter was dated from Lambeth, July 31st, 1639, and communicated afterwards to Paulus Colomesius by Archbishop Sancroft.

* Vid. Syllab. Epistolar. edit. Patr. Apostol. præfix. Epistol. 1. cui titulus *Epistola Reverendi in Christo Patris Will. Laud, Archiep.*

Cantuar. et totius Angliæ Primatis ad Virum Clariss. Hugonem Menardum Monachum Benedictinum.

4. ISAAC

4. ISAAC VOSSIUS^a.

Before Archbishop Usher had begun to print his edition of Ignatius's Epistles at Oxford, 1643, to which he designed to have subjoined Barnabas, if the great fire there had not prevented it, Vossius had formed a design of publishing the Epistle of Barnabas from a Greek copy of Andreas Schottus, which was transcribed by Salmasius, and by him given to Vossius, and from the Latin copy of the Abbey of Corbey, which he had transcribed by Cordeus. But when he perceived the design of Archbishop Usher, at his request he gave him the use of his manuscripts, which he intended to have printed in the Oxford edition; but the fire destroying every thing belonging to it, he at length published himself the Epistles of Ignatius, with the Epistle of Barnabas annexed, from three manuscripts, viz. one out of the library at Florence, the other two from Rome. His opinion concerning the Epistle of Barnabas is, that it really is his composition, because Clemens and Origen ascribe it to him; and although there be in it some odd and strange interpretations of Scripture, which are scarce consistent with the character of Barnabas, yet these are to be imputed to the ignorance and customs of the primitive Christians; and though Eusebius and the later Greeks call it Apocryphal, that they only did so because of its *mystical* interpretations of Scripture; and that if a book is to be rejected which has been sometimes called Apocryphal, we must reject Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistle of Jude, and that of Clemens to the Corinthians.

5. COTELERIUS^b.

This very learned French Clergyman has published together all the Apostolick Fathers, viz. Barnabas, Hermes, Clemens, Ignatius, and Polycarp. His edition is most correct, having had the help of several manuscripts, and is adorned

^a Vid. ejus judicium de Barnab. Epist. edit. Cleric. præfix. et confer. Præmonit. Jacob. Archiepif-

cop. Armach. edit. Oxon. præfix.

^b See the Preface to his edition of the Apostolick Fathers,

with

with large and useful annotations. He published it in the year 1672^a. His opinion concerning the Epistle of Barnabas is, that Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, and Jerome did believe it genuine; but for his own part thinks it incredible, that so eminent an Apostle, a man *full of the Holy Ghost and faith* (Acts xi. 24. and xiii. 2.), *separated by the Spirit to the work of the ministry* with Paul, and his colleague, should be the author of such a work, in which are so many forced allegories, improbable explications of Scripture, fables about animals, &c. He believes Origen and Jerome esteemed it not only genuine, but of the Canon; but that Clemens Alexandrinus, though he thought it the work of Barnabas, exposed and wrote against it.—That it was certainly wrote after the destruction of Jerusalem, and before the end of the second century, if not early therein. After all this he adds: The Epistle of Barnabas was by Origen and some Churches esteemed Canonical; by Clemens Alexandrinus sometimes Canonical, sometimes not Canonical; by Eusebius dubious, spurious, cited by the antients, and among the better sort of Apocryphal; by Jerome Apocryphal, and not belonging to the Canon. He supposes it was wrote for the benefit of the Christianized Jews (i. e. the Ebionites), who were yet too tenacious and fond of their old Jewish rites and ceremonies.

6. Dr. FELL^b, Bishop of Oxford.

After all the former, he also published at Oxford an edition of the Epistle of Barnabas in the year 1685. It is evident that he, as several of our English divines have, chose rather to deliver their sentiments of this and the other Apostolick Fathers ambiguously, than clearly; fearing to own expressly what they seem to have been persuaded of in their own minds, that these books ought to be treated with the same respect as several of the books of our present Canon. He says concern-

^a See the rise and progress of this edition of the Apostolick Fathers, in a Letter of Steph. Baluzius to Emericus Bigotius, among the Letters prefixed by Le Clerc to his edition.

^b So I call the editor of this edition, though his name be not prefixed, having heard he was the person, and finding it not obscurely intimated by Dr. Mill, Proleg. in N. T. §. 1449 et 1497.

ing the Epistle of Barnabas, that whatever we suppose of it, we must at least own, that he was in all points orthodox, and one that closely imitated St. Paul: that its authority is not the less, because its author may not be certainly known, or because it lay for some time obscure; for this was the case of several of the books of the Canon: and that we are not to pretend to be able to make so good a judgment of its genuineness as Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen, who lived in the next century, and ascribed it to Barnabas: that it did not continue to be read in the Churches as other Scriptures, only for the reason of its being obscure and mystical, which (says he) is the very case of some of the more obscure parts of the Canon now: that its most forced and far-fetched allegories are borrowed from St. Paul's Epistles, &c.

7. Dr. BERNARD,
Savilian Professor at Oxford,

He not only judges it genuine, but that it was in so great esteem at Alexandria, as to be read from beginning to end in their Churches, as the Canonical Scriptures were; and this he supposes was done in that famous Church, because St. Mark, who was its founder, had been the assistant and companion of Barnabas. See the Preface to his short notes on Barnabas at the end of the Oxford edition.

8. Mr. DODWELL^a.

He esteemed Barnabas, as well as Hermes, &c. to be undoubted writers of the first century, and whose works were published before some books of the present Canon, viz. the Epistle of Jude, and the writings of both the Johns.

9. Du PIN^b.

The substance of what he says is, that though the Church has not delivered to us the Epistle of Barnabas as Canonical, yet we are not for that reason to reject it, but to look upon it as an Epistle written by the Apostle Barnabas.

^a Differt. 1. in Iren. §. 39.

^b History of the Canon, vol. ii. c. 6. §. 7.

10. Dr. CAVE^a.

He contends, that this Epistle is the genuine Epistle of Barnabas, and answers the three arguments, which La Moyné has brought against its being written by Barnabas.

11. FREDERICK SPANHEIM^b.

Concludes from the style, design, perpetual allegories, and odd expositions of Scripture, that it has scarce any thing of the simplicity of the Apostolick age in it.

12. Mr. TOLAND^c.

Observes, that the Epistle of Barnabas, as well as Hermes and the other Apostolick Fathers, are generally received in the Church of Rome, and by most Protestants; but those of the Church of England have particularly signalized themselves in their defence, and by publishing the correctest impressions of them. The antients paid them the highest respect, and reckoned the first four especially (*viz.* Barnabas, Hermes, Polycarp, and Clemens Romanus), as good as any part of the New Testament. The Epistle of Barnabas is by Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen not only reckoned genuine, but cited as Scripture, &c. In another place^d Mr. Toland is of opinion, that it is the easiest task in the world, next to that of shewing the ignorance and superstition of the writers, to prove them all spurious, and fraudulently imposed upon the credulous. And elsewhere^e, *if they think them genuine, why do they not receive them into the Canon of Scriptures, since they were the companions and followers of the Apostles, as well as St. Mark and St. Luke?*

13. Dr. WAKE, the present Archbishop of Canterbury.

In the year 1693, he obliged the world with a translation of the Apostolick Fathers, Barnabas, Ignatius, Clement, Poly-

^a Hist. Liter. vol. i. in Barnab.

^c Amyntor, p. 44.

p. 11, 12.

^d Ibid. p. 38.

^b Hist. Christ. Sæcul. i. p.

^e Ibid. p. 47, 48.

carp, and Hermes, into English, together with the martyrdoms of Ignatius and Polycarp. To each of these he has prefixed a discourse concerning it, and after these added one chapter concerning the authority, and another concerning the usefulness of these apostolick treatises (viz. Chap. X. and XI.) I have had occasion already^a to observe what his Grace's sentiments are concerning these pieces, and how he esteems them wrote by persons endued with the extraordinary assistance of the Holy Spirit, and tells us, we ought therefore to look upon them as an authoritative declaration of the Gospel of Christ: that the authors were inspired, and not only have not mistaken, but were not capable of mistaking the mind of the Apostles, &c. This is to be esteemed as his Grace's opinion concerning Barnabas in particular: to which I shall only add, that in his discourse on this Epistle, Ch. VII. he endeavours to vindicate its genuineness against all objections that have been made to it.

14. Dr. MILL^b.

Supposes the Epistle of Barnabas written after the destruction of Jerusalem; but not so long after, but that the Epistle of Jude, the three Epistles of John, and the Revelation, were wrote after it was.

15. Mr. EACHARD^c.

That Barnabas wrote his Epistle about the year 72, and though it was of great repute among the antients, and sometimes read in the Christian Churches, yet never was admitted into the Canon of the holy Scripture.—The frame and contexture of it is intricate and obscure to us, made up of uncouth allegories, with some forced and improbable interpretations of Scripture.

16. Dr. S. CLARK^d.

The Epistle of Barnabas is without all controversy an an-

^a See the Dissertation before the first volume, p. 5, 6.

^b Prolegom. in N. T. §. 144.

^c Eccles. Hist. b. ii. c. 8, §. 2.

^d Reflect. on Amyntor at the end of his Letters about the Immortality of the Soul. See p. 263, 269, 273, &c.

tient work of the apostolick age, being quoted by almost all the primitive Fathers: that there are internal arguments, drawn from the simplicity of style and way of arguing used in these writings (viz. Barnabas, Hermes, &c.), agreeable to the custom of the age in which they are supposed to be written, from the conformity of the matter contained in them to the doctrine and discipline of those times, &c. which afford—good reason to believe these books to be genuine;—and though the Epistle of Barnabas contain some very strange and allegorical interpretations of Scripture, yet he that considers how much that manner of interpretation was antiently in use among the Jews in their Targums, and how many important truths were that way conveyed, so that the Apostles themselves, in their arguings with the Jews, did often make use of it, as we see in their uncontroverted writings, will rather choose modestly to suspend his judgment, than rashly to upbraid this author with the terms of foolish and ridiculous:—that Barnabas and the other books are to have a proportionable veneration with those of the Canon; yet we have not the same evidence of their genuineness; there is something human, something of infirmity, something of fallibility in them.

17. Mr. WHISTON^a.

Places the Epistle of Barnabas in his Catalogue of the Books of the New Testament, and supposes it written A. D. 87, and elsewhere calls it a sacred book of the New Testament^b; and in a late treatise written to exclude the Canticles from the Canon of the Old Testament, he calls Barnabas *that prodigious allegorizer*. See p. 30.

18. Mr. LE CLERC^c.

Is for compounding the matter between all the former, by supposing that Barnabas indeed wrote a short and plain Epistle, which was afterwards corrupted, and interpolated largely by some person or other for his own private advantage.

^a Essay on the Constitutions, p. 17, 24.

^b Ibid. p. 36.

^c Hist. Eccl. Sæcul. i. ad ann. lxxi. §. 2. p. 474.

19. Dr. JENKIN^a.

The genuine Epistle of Barnabas, who is styled an Apostle, Acts xiii. 2. and xiv. 14. was never received but as Apocryphal (viz. because it was not known to be inspired). Upon all personal and human accounts, an Epistle of St. Barnabas or St. Clement must have carried as much authority with it, as any thing under the name of St. Mark or St. Luke. If either in the Epistle of Barnabas or St. Clement it be supposed, that the reasoning is not always just, but is sometimes too allegorical, and sometimes founded upon mistakes in natural philosophy, yet it is certainly agreeable to the ways of reasoning, and the philosophy of that age; so that nothing of this kind could then be any hindrance to the reception of these Epistles.

C H A P. XXXIX.

The Epistle of Barnabas proved to be spurious: it was wrote by one originally a Pagan. A Remark on 1 Pet. iv. 3. It was wrote after the Destruction of Jerusalem. Barnabas one of Christ's Seventy Disciples. Explication of John xxi. 21. and Matth. xvi. 18.

THE opinions both of the antient and modern writers being thus proposed concerning the Epistle of Barnabas, I come now to offer to the reader my own observations and sentiments concerning it. All that is considerable, will be fully discussed in a disquisition concerning the two following questions, viz.

- (1.) *Whether the Epistle of Barnabas be genuine.*
- (2.) *What authority it claims, or ought to have in the Church.*

^a Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion, vol. ii. c. 4. p. 92.

(1.) *Whether*

(I.) *Whether the Epistle of Barnabas be genuine*; i. e. was written by that holy companion of the Apostle, whose name it bears. It is evident by the citations of the former chapter, that most of the learned writers, who have mentioned it, believed it was, and as such by their authority it has passed, and is received in the world at this time. But I confess, to me there is nothing can appear more improbable; and there are several arguments which induce me to believe, that Barnabas was not the author of this Epistle under his name; e. g.

Arg. I. *This Epistle was written by one who was originally a Gentile, or Pagan, and consequently was not written by Barnabas, who was originally a Jew.* The latter part of the proposition, viz. that Barnabas was a Jew, is indisputable from those words in St. Luke's History of the Apostles' Acts (Ch. iv. 36.), *And Joses, who by the Apostles was surnamed Barnabas (which is, being interpreted, The Son of Consolation), a Levite, and of the country of Cyprus, &c.* His name, which was Jewish, and his particular tribe being expressed, make it undeniable, that though he were born of parents who lived in Cyprus (the Jews at that time being dispersed into all countries, and great multitudes of them being at Cyprus), yet he was a proper Jew, and (as it seems) had his residence at Jerusalem, where very probably he had his education, as Paul also had, who was born at Tarsus. If then it can be proved, that the author of this Epistle was not a Jew, but a Gentile, it will be evident that Barnabas was not the author. Now there are several things in this Epistle, which I have observed, that seem to me clearly to evince this; as particularly,

I. Those words, Ch. XVI. *Before that we were believers on God, the tabernacle of our hearts was corrupt and impotent, and properly as a temple built with hands; for it was full of*

* Πρὸ τοῦ ἡμᾶς πιστεῦσαι τῷ Θεῷ, ἢ ἡμῶν τὸ κατοικητήριον τῆς καρδίας φθαρτὸν καὶ ἀδύνατον, ὡς ἀληθῶς ναὸς οἰκοδομητὸς διὰ χεῖρας· ὅτι ἦν πλήρης μὲν εἰδωλολατρίας, αἶκος εἰδωλολα-

τρίας (legendum omnino εἰδωλολατρίας), ἢ οἶκος δαίμωνιον, διὰ τὸ ποιεῖν ὅσα ἢ ἰσχυρία τῷ Θεῷ. Ch. xvi.

idolatry

idolatry (or the worship of idols); and a house of idolatry is a house of devils, because in it was done whatsoever was contrary to God. Hence I observe, (1.) That there was a time when this author did not believe on the One God, but (2.) was a worshipper of idols and false Gods; neither of which could ever have been said of one that was a Jew, and especially a Levite, but does most exactly suit the character of one, who was formerly a Pagan, and bred up in the idolatrous worship of false Gods. The author of this Epistle was therefore a Pagan originally, and consequently not Barnabas.

Bishop Fell, in his note on this place, takes notice of this argument, and would persuade us, *that Barnabas speaks of himself and others as Jews, who were therefore called by him idolaters, because they did the things contrary to God.* But this deserves no other answer, than that it is a plain evasion to serve a purpose. What he adds is more considerable, viz. that by this argument we may as well prove the author of the first Epistle of Peter to have been a Gentile too, because he reckons himself among idolaters, 1 Pet. iv. 3. where he says, *For the time past of our life may suffice us to have wrought the will of the Gentiles, when we walked in lasciviousness, lusts, excess of wine, revellings, banquetings, and abominable idolatries.* This seems considerable; but it is easily answered, if we consider that the true reading in the Greek of this place either should be *ἡμῶν*, not *ἡμῶν* (i. e. *the time past of your life may suffice you*, &c. and not *the time past of our life may suffice us*), as it is in several of the most antient printed editions (e. g. the Complutensian printed A. D. MDXV. and that of Simon Colinaeus printed at Paris in MDXLIII.) and manuscripts; or else, which is I believe the true reading, we should insert neither *ἡμῶν* nor *ἡμῶν*; for neither of those words is in the antient manuscripts or versions, or was read by the Fathers in their copies. For proof of which, I need only refer the reader to Dr. Mill *, who tells us, there is no such word in the Alexandrian

* In 1 Pet. iv. 3. Besides the proof from the manuscripts and versions, I add, that it would have

been very absurd for the Apostle to have brought himself in by the word *ἡμῶν*, when he so particularly ad-

andrian manuscript, one of Cardinal Barbarine's, that of Geneva, one of Magdalen College, Valesius's collation of sixteen manuscripts, nor in the old Vulgate, Syriack, or Æthiopick Version, nor in the copies of Clemens Alexandrinus and Austin. From all which it is evident, St. Peter in this place does not enumerate himself with the Gentile idolaters; and consequently nothing can be concluded hence against my argument preceding, to prove that the author of this Epistle under the name of Barnabas *was originally a Gentile, not a Jew.*

2. I argue that the author of this Epistle was a Gentile, not a Jew, from the constant distinction or opposition which he makes between Jew and Gentile, always ranking himself among the latter sort. So, for instance, Ch. II. he cites Jer. vii. 22. *Did I at all command your fathers, when they came out of Egypt, concerning burnt-offerings and sacrifices?* and applying it to the Jews, introduces it thus; *Dicit Dominus ad illos,* i. e. *The Lord speaketh to them;* immediately after he cites those words Psal. li. 17. *The sacrifice of God is a broken spirit, a broken and contrite heart God will not despise;* and applying the words to the Gentiles, introduces them thus; *Dicit nobis,* i. e. *He speaketh to Us.* So again, Ch. III. he applies Isai. lvii. 4, 5. to the Jews, *he speaketh to Them;* but the following verses, ver. 6, 7, &c. he applies to the Gentiles, and brings them in, *But to Us he speaketh thus,* &c. and thence concludes in these words, *We should not run as proselytes to Their law.* Ch. IV. he exhorts, according to the general design of his Epistle, those to whom he writes, *not to be like those who say that Their covenant is Ours* (he means the Nazarenes or Ebionites, against whom he writes, as is well observed by Menardus), which cannot possibly mean any other, than that the Gentiles were included in the Mosaiick covenant; and if so, it is plain the author by that expression shews that he was no Jew, as he does more fully when he adds, *nay, but it is Our covenant (only,* which word is well added by the Archbishop

dresses to them in the second person in the preceding and following verses; and though our translators

have inserted the word *our* before *life*, there is nothing to answer to it in the original.

in

in his Version), sufficiently distinguishing himself thereby from the Jews. Again, Ch. V. of the things which are written, *Quædam ad populum Judæorum, quædam ad nos; Some concern the people of the Jews, some concern Us.* Once more, Ch. VIII, *To Us, they are clear, but to Them* (i. e. the Jews) *they are obscure.* To omit any farther citations and instances of this sort, in the judgment of any one unprejudiced, I cannot but think these are sufficient to shew the author of this Epistle was originally a Gentile, and never a Jew.

Before I leave this head, I must observe, that in the fifth chapter of this Epistle we read, in the Archbishop's translation, of Christ's appearing in the flesh, that *he might make good the promises before given to Our fathers*; which words are indeed a proof, that the author of the Epistle was a Jew, because no one else could call the Patriarchs and Prophets *our fathers*. But the word *our* is supposititious, having nothing to answer it in the old Latin Version, out of which the translation is made. But I suppose his Grace was led into the mistake by the Greek translation of Bishop Fell, which he has inserted in his edition, to supply the original Greek, and has printed in red letters; and in this place, for the Latin, *Parentibus promissum*, has τοῖς πατέρας ἡμῶν προσηγγεμένον; and though the Latin has the word *parentibus*, there can be no doubt but it means in general *the Fathers*, and is translated from the Greek πατέρας, which is the word made use of in the Greek Testament, to denote the Patriarchs and Prophets who lived before Christ's time. (See Acts xiii. 32. Rom. ix. 5. Heb. i. 1.) But barbarous translations were common with this old Latin interpreter.

3. That which farther proves this author not to have been a Jew, is, that *there are no Hebraisms in his style*; which was a thing almost impossible to have been avoided, had he been a Jew. How common Hebraisms are in the writings of the New Testament, is known to every one acquainted with these sort of studies; and how entirely destitute this Epistle under the name of *Barnabas* is of them, will be evident to every one who is a judge of the matter. I shall add no more on this

head, but refer the reader to what I have said already, Vol. I. Ch. XIII. Prop. XII.

If then, as I have endeavoured to prove, the author of this Epistle was not a Jew, but a Gentile; it follows from what has been said, that it was not composed by Barnabas, but is spurious and supposititious.

Arg. II. That this Epistle is spurious, or not written by Barnabas, is probable, because *it was written after the destruction of Jerusalem*. This argument is mentioned by Archbishop Laud, La Moyné, and others to this purpose. The first mentioned expressly says, *that Barnabas was dead before the destruction of Jerusalem*^a: which, though indeed it cannot certainly be demonstrated, is exceeding probable; for Barnabas was very early a disciple. If there be any credit to be given to antiquity, he was one of the seventy disciples, whom our Saviour himself sent forth to preach (Luke x. 1.). So we find in Clemens Alexandrinus^b, Eusebius^c, Epiphanius^d, and other antient writers, whose positive testimony in this matter is, I think, beyond all exception, and has been only disputed by Bede (in Act. iv.), who without any reason imagined, that St. Luke in the Acts said he was not converted till after our Lord's ascension. However this be, it is certain from Acts iv. 36. that immediately after our Lord's ascension he was among the disciples at Jerusalem: so that in the year of Christ xxxii. or xxxiii. at least, Barnabas was a disciple of Christ. Now at this time, it was necessary that he should be above thirty years of age, none being before that time permitted to exercise any sacred office among the Jews; as neither John the Baptist, nor our Saviour, did before that age enter upon the exercise of their publick ministry. For which reasons Irenæus (adv. Hæres. l. 2. c. 39.) speaking of our Saviour's entrance upon the exercise of his ministry after his

^a Loquitur de excidio Hierosolymitano, quod post mortem Barnabæ accidit. Epist. ad Menand. præfix. edit. Cleric.

^b Strom. l. 2. p. 410.

^c Hist. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 12. et lib. 2. c. 1.

^d Hæres. 19. §. 4.

baptism,

baptism, said, it was when he was thirty years old, and then *magistri ætatem perfectam habens, venit ad Jerusalem, ita ut ab omnibus jussè audiretur magister*: being arrived to the *perfect age* (or requisite age) of a *master* (or teacher), he went to Jerusalem, and so was justly acknowledged by every one to be a master. This was founded upon a divine command, Num. iv. 3. *That from thirty years old and upward, even until fifty years old, they (viz. the Levites) should enter into the host to do the work of the Tabernacle of the congregation*; and the practice of David, who is said (1 Chron. xxiii. 3.) to have *numbered the Levites from thirty years old and upward*. Unless therefore we will suppose our Saviour to have made a greater innovation in the customs of the Jews^a in the choice of his disciples, than he made himself when he entered upon his publick ministry, we must suppose Barnabas at least thirty years old when Christ chose him, and very probably (considering him a Levite, who had perhaps been some time employed in that office) several years older, and equal in age at least to any one of the Apostles. Now the destruction of Jerusalem was (as is agreed on all hands) just seventy years after Christ's birth, and this Epistle of Barnabas was certainly wrote after that; so that if we suppose Barnabas to have been no more than thirty-five years of age when Christ first sent him (Luke x. 1.), and that he wrote his Epistle no more than five years after the destruction of Jerusalem (both which are, considering all circumstances, very modest and reasonable suppositions), he must have wrote his Epistle in his eightieth, or at least seventy-ninth year. But whereas no one of the Apostles (except St. John) lived to that age, but by one means or other much sooner fell into the hands of their enemies, it is at least improbable to suppose that Barnabas did, and consequently improbable that he was the author of this Epistle wrote under his name.

That which confirms this matter is, that our Saviour speaks of it as *something very singular and extraordinary*, that John

^a Vid. Spanheim. Dub. Evang. tom. 2. Dub. 96. et Outram. de Sacrific. lib. 1. c. 7. §. 2, 3, &c.

should live so long as the destruction of the city of Jerusalem (John xxi. 21, &c.), *If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?* By which coming of Christ nothing else is meant; in the judgment of our best expositors and criticks, Mede^a, Lightfoot^b, Hammond^c, Whitby^d, Dr. Cave^e, &c. than *his coming to the final overthrow and destruction of Jerusalem*; and many of the criticks have judged no way so proper to expound that text, Matt. xvi. 28. *Verily I say unto you, there be some standing here, which shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom*, as to refer it to John's surviving the destruction of Jerusalem. If then Barnabas did not live till the destruction of Jerusalem, he could not be the author of this Epistle under his name, wherein that event is not only referred to, Ch. IV. but expressly mentioned more than once, Ch. XVI. where speaking of the Temple he saith, *Διὰ γὰρ τὸ πολέμαϊν αὐτὸς καθρέθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὡν, It is now through their wars destroyed by their enemies*; then citing a prophecy, to shew that city, temple, and people were to be given up, he adds, *Καὶ ἵναιτο καθ' ἃ ἐλάλησε ὁ Κύριος, And it has come to pass according as the Lord spake.*

There is indeed one way of evading the force of this argument, viz. by supposing Barnabas to have wrote of the destruction of Jerusalem by a spirit of prophecy, and by means of that spirit to have spoke of things yet to come, as being past. This, however absurd, Menardus found necessary to assert, as Archbishop Laud saith in his Letter to him, calling it a *Petition Principii*. But as I can find nothing like this in Menardus's printed notes, I am apt to imagine he struck it out on account of the Archbishop's reflection. Upon the whole then we have good reason to conclude this Epistle to be spurious, and not wrote by Barnabas the disciple of Christ. I might here easily collect many other arguments, whereby the spuriousness of this Epistle would be evinced; but I choose rather to omit them here, they being such as withal prove it

^a Vid. Poli Synopf. tom. 5. p.

338.

^b Hor. Hebr. in loc.

^c Annot. in loc.

^d Ibid.

^e Lives of the Apostles, p. 154.

Apocryphal, and therefore more properly fall under our consideration on the second head; of which in the following chapter.

C H A P. XL.

The Epistle of Barnabas proved to be Apocryphal: it is not in any of the antient Catalogues of sacred Books: not cited by any of the Fathers as Scripture: Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen the only Fathers that have cited it: neither of them believed it Canonical: it was not read in the Assemblies of the primitive Christians.

WERE it not for the extravagantly high opinion which those have of this Epistle, who contend for the genuineness of it, I should have been apt to imagine I had done enough already, by proving it *spurious*, to prove it *Apocryphal*. But because we are told, *It was only reckoned Apocryphal, because of its mystical interpretations of Scripture; and that if a book be to be rejected, because it has been sometimes called Apocryphal, we must reject the Epistle to the Hebrews, and that of Jude* (see Vossius above, Ch. XXXVIII. Num. 4.): that it is in all points orthodox, and the author one that closely imitated St. Paul: that it did not continue to be read in the Churches as other Scriptures, only for the reason of its being obscure, which is the case of some books of the Canon: that its forced and far-fetched allegories are borrowed from St. Paul's Epistles (as Bishop Fell above, Num. 5.): that it is cited as Scripture (according to Mr. Toland, Num. 12.): that it was wrote by a person endued with the extraordinary assistance of the Spirit, and is to be looked upon as an authoritative declaration of the Gospel of Christ, wrote by a person who was inspired, &c. (as the present Archbishop of Canterbury above, Num. 13.): that it is without all controversy a work of the Apostolick age, being quoted by almost all the primitive Fathers: that its style and matter prove its genuine antiquity (as Dr. Clark, Num. 16.): that it

is to be placed among the sacred books of the New Testament (as Mr. Whiston, Num. 17.): because, I say, we are told all this of this Epistle, than which scarce any thing more can be said of the books of the Canon, it is necessary that I do a little farther enquire into the authority of it: and this I shall do according to the several propositions laid down for this purpose in the first part of this work; and so shall have occasion to examine all, or most of the foregoing assertions in favour of this Epistle. I come then,

(2.) To enquire, *What authority the Epistle of Barnabas does claim, or ought to have, in the Church; i. e. whether it be Canonical, or not.* And,

Arg. I. I argue, that it is Apocryphal by Prop. IV. *because it is not found in any of the catalogues of the sacred books of the New Testament made by the primitive Christians.* This will be undeniably evident to any one, who will but cast his eye upon those catalogues which I have collected, Vol. I. Part I. Chap. VIII. He will see that there is no mention of it either in the catalogue of Origen, Eusebius, Athanasius, the Council of Laodicea, Epiphanius, Gregory Nazianzen, Philastrius, Jerome, Ruffin, Austin, the third Council of Carthage, &c. and consequently must judge it Apocryphal. It is strange therefore Mr. Whiston should at last take upon him, to place it among the sacred books of the New Testament; and the more strange, since it is not in the catalogue which is in the eighty-fifth Canon of the Apostles.

Arg. II. The Epistle under the name of Barnabas is Apocryphal, *because it is not cited in the writings of the primitive Christians as Scripture*, Prop. V. Dr. Clark indeed (above, Ch. XXXVIII. Num. 16.) tells us, *it is cited by almost all the primitive Fathers.* But upon enquiry I find these almost all amount to no more than Clemens the master, and Origen the scholar, at the same town of Alexandria: elsewhere it does not appear to have been so much known as to have been cited by any one Father, unless Jerome's translating a few Hebrew names, which are in it, into Latin, be such. But neither can
this

this be called Jerome's *work*; for it is only a translation of a book of Origen's out of Greek into Latin upon the same subject. (See Dr. Cave Hist. Lit. t. 1. p. 83 et 224.) Indeed, Eusebius and Jerome elsewhere have mentioned it, but not so as to cite it, only to tell us it was Apocryphal, as I shall shew presently. Clemens of Alexandria therefore, and his scholar Origen, are the only two Fathers we have to do with here; who, though indeed they have cited it, yet do not appear to have given it any of that authority which is now claimed for it, as indeed it was not in their power. But let it be observed,

1. *That neither of them have cited it as Scripture, or in the way which they ordinarily do the genuine Scriptures.* The bare citation of a book by a Christian Father will not prove it Canonical, else would a thousand Pagan authors be of the Canon. Besides, the former volume will afford many instances of books under Apostolick names, cited by these and other Fathers, which they looked upon to be Apocryphal, as I have there proved. I know indeed Mr. Toland ^a tells the world, that Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen not only reckoned the Epistle of Barnabas genuine, but *cited it as Scripture*: but this, as Mr. Richardson ^b well observes, *is not true in fact; They cite it, says he, but under no such title.*

2. It is certain that Origen, though he cites the Epistle of Barnabas, did not esteem it as any part of Canonical Scripture, because he left it out of his catalogue of sacred and inspired writings, which we have laid together by Eusebius ^c. It is evident therefore, that his sentiments of Barnabas were the same as his sentiments of several of the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament; which though he often cites, yet he entirely omits in his enumeration of the books of the Old Testament, which is perfectly the same with the present Canon ^d.

3. Suppose then that one Father (Clemens Alexandrinus) had too high an opinion of a book, *are we to be governed in determining the Canon, by the private opinion of one single writer,*

^a Amyntor, p. 46.

^b Answer to Amyntor, p. 25.

^c Hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 25,

^d Ibid. He omits James and Jude, but owns them elsewhere.

contrary to the known sentiments of the whole primitive Church? Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Athenagoras, Theophilus Antiochenus, those most early writers, have made no mention of it; Eusebius and Jerome expressly reject it as Apocryphal. But Clemens of Alexandria cites it. Must it therefore be genuine? Must it therefore be Canonical, though all the world besides were ignorant of it? Must a single presbyter of Asia, who lived at least one hundred twenty-one years after the writing of this Epistle (according to the time in which its patrons suppose it written, viz. A. D. LXXI.), and who might be easily imposed upon, judge for the whole Christian world? And must his quoting a book prove its authority, when it does not appear to have been received by one Christian writer besides, but on the contrary rejected as Apocryphal by every one who has mentioned it? I shall add no more here, but repeat what I observed Vol. I. Prop. V. that we are not to determine the authority of any book or books upon the credit of any one or two particular writers, but the whole body of the writers of the primitive Church. But,

4. There is no inconsiderable proof to be made out of the works of Clemens Alexandrinus himself, that *he did not look upon this Epistle as having any manner of authority*, but on the contrary took the liberty to oppose and contradict it, when he saw fit. One instance will be sufficient. In *Pædag.* l. 2. c. 10. p. 188. he cites the explication of Barnabas on that law of Moses, *Thou shalt not eat of the hyæna nor the hare*, i. e. not be like those animals in their lascivious qualities. He does not indeed name Barnabas, as in other places; but nothing can be more evident, than that he refers to the Epistle of Barnabas, Ch. X. After which he adds, that though he doubted not but Moses designed a prohibition of adultery by prohibiting these animals, *ὡ μὲν τὰ τῆς ἡγῆρας τῶν συκοειδῶς εἰρημῶν συγκαταριθμεῖται*, yet he could not agree with the symbolical explication some gave of the place, viz. that the hyæna changes its sex yearly, and is sometimes male, sometimes female, as Barnabas saith. After which he largely disputes against the fact. To me this looks like demonstration; so that I shall add no more, but what Cotelarius (to whom I owe this hint) observes, *Opus quod credit esse Barnabæ*

Barnabæ impugnat—id nequaquam commifisset, fi ad Canonem pertinere fuisset arbitratus ; i. e. Clemens opposes the Epistle which he believed to be Barnabas's ; which he would never have done, if he had thought it belonged to the Canon. Præf. in Barnab.

Arg. III. The Epistle under the name of Barnabas is Apocryphal by Prop. VI. because *it was not read by the primitive Christians in their assemblies as the Word of God.* I had scarce mentioned this argument, but that I find Dr. Bernard asserting, that *it was read in the Churches^a, together with the Canonical Scriptures, from beginning to end.* But of this he pretends to give no other evidence, than that the Hebrew names in it are interpreted by Origen, in his book *De Interpretatione Hebraicorum Nominum*, after he had interpreted the Hebrew names in the true Scriptures. But in answer to this I observe, that this work of Origen is not extant itself, but only Jerome's translation of it, with what additions and alterations he thought fit^b : so that nothing hence can be concluded concerning its being read in Origen's time. And if we admit this argument as proof that it was read in Jerome's time, it happens very unluckily for the Doctor ; that whereas he says it was read *inter Canonicas Scripturas*, among the Canonical Scriptures, Jerome expressly says *inter Apocryphas Scripturas legitur^c*, it was read among the Apocryphal Scriptures. It is certain there were several pious books read in the ancient Churches, which they did not look upon as Scripture (which were called Ecclesiastical), nor were ever used as of any authority to prove articles of faith : the same Churches who read them, looked upon them as Apocryphal : this we learn from Rufin^d, Jerome himself^e, and others^f. So that if this Epistle was read in Jerome's time, which is the first that can be

^a Præfat. in Not. in Barnab. Epist. A principio ad finem inter Scripturas canonicas hanc Epistolam tum olim lectam fuisse acceptamque.

^b Vid. Cave Hist. Liter. tom. 1. p. 224.

^c Catalog. Vir. Illustr. in Barnab.

^d In Symbol. Apostol. §. 36.

^e Præfat. in Libr. Salomon.

^f See Richardson against Amyntor, p. 19, 27. and Vol. I. Par. I. Ch. X.

pretended,

pretended, it is plain it gains no credit thereby. On the other hand, Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem^a, directing what books should be read in the Churches, recites those only which we now receive, and dehorts from the reading of any Apocryphal books. So also the Council of Laodicea^b, enumerating no books which are not in the present Canon, presses the reading of them, and no other. So that if the Epistle under the name of *Barnabas* was read in Jerome's time among the Apocryphal Scriptures, it was but in some few Churches; for he lived near Cyril's time, if not in it, and in the time of the Council of Laodicea. We see then with how little justice we are told by Dr. Bernard, that it was read in the primitive Churches among the Canonical Scriptures; and by Bishop Fell, that it did not continue to be read in the Churches as other Scriptures, only for the reason of its being obscure; which is the case of some books of the Canon^c. Whereas the facts, that it does not appear to have been read in the Churches at all till the time of Jerome; and if it was read then, it was only in some few Churches, as an Apocryphal book.

CHAP. XLII.

Other Arguments to prove the Epistle of Barnabas to be Apocryphal: one Part contradicts another: it contains many notorious Falsehoods, and gross Mistakes: ten Instances produced.

Arg. IV, **T**HE Epistle under the name of Barnabas is Apocryphal by Prop. VII. because there seems to me a very manifest contradiction in it, viz. that the author of the Epistle should in one place say (viz. Ch. XV.) *the world must necessarily last for thousand years, because God*

^a Catech. IV. §. 22.

^c Vid. utriusque Prefat. in Bar.

^b Can. LIX. ad Concil. t. 1. p. nab.

made the world in six days; and yet in another tells us (viz. Ch. XXI.), that *the day was near at hand, in which all things should be destroyed, together with the wicked one. The Lord is near, and his reward is with him.* In the former place he spake according to an old tradition of the Jews, which they ascribe to Elijah (see it at large out of the Talmud in Sixt. Senens. Bibl. Sanct. lib. 5. annot. 190. p. 400. and in Petr. Galatin. de Arcan. Cathol. Verit. lib. 4. cap. 20, with the sentiments and comments of the Rabbins upon it), viz. that *the world should last just six thousand years, viz. two thousand years before the Law, two thousand years under the Law, and two thousand after the Law under the Messiah*: so that, according to him, there were two thousand years, or one third part of the whole world's duration to come, before its destruction would be. But in the latter place he says, *the day was at hand, in which all things* (viz. the world and all that was in it) *should be destroyed*: and this seems to be spoken according to the mistaken notion of some early Christians, who concluded from Phil. iv. 5. Heb. x. 25. Jam. v. 3. 2 Pet. iv. 7, 8, &c. and such texts, that Christ's coming was very near at hand. Grotius on Phil. iv. 5. intimates, that the Apostles themselves thought so; which opinion of his Dr. Whitby (on the same place) endeavours to confute. However this be, I see no way of clearing our author from a notorious contradiction, and consequently must conclude his Epistle to be Apocryphal by Prop. VII.

Arg. V. The Epistle under the name of Barnabas is Apocryphal by Prop. VIII. because *it contains several things which are false.* There are not many pages in the Epistle, but will afford us some proof of this. The Rabbinical stories, the allegorical interpretations of Scripture, &c. which we meet with every where in it, I look upon as so many falsehoods; but because they are silly, fabulous, trifling, and ridiculous, I shall therefore leave them to the next head, and make choice of some other instances of falsehood in this Epistle; and among these I assign the following, viz.

1. Chap. VI. he boasts of a skill and wisdom given him by God to understand secrets; and then adds, to compliment himself, *For, saith the Prophet, who shall understand the hard sayings of the Lord, but he that is wise and understanding, and who loveth his Lord?* But there are no such words in any of the prophets, or any other part of Scripture.

2. Ch. VII. to make out a type under the Law, of Christ's having vinegar given him on the cross to drink, he calls the Prophet to witness, and says, *All the priests, and they only, shall eat with vinegar the inwards (of the goat) not washed.* But there is nothing like this in the Law of Moses, or any of the Prophets. Cotelæus supposes, the author took it out of some Apocryphal books, or rather from the Jewish traditions; as does also Menardus*. I rather look upon it as a pious forgery and fraud, there being nothing of this sort known to have been among the Jewish customs, and this book having several such frauds in it.

3. In the same chapter, to make the scape-goat a type of Christ, he recites as a command of God, *Do ye all spit upon it, and prick it, and put the scarlet wool upon its head, and so let it be sent forth to the wilderness;* whereas there is no such precept any where in the Pentateuch, nor either of those circumstances of spitting upon it, and piercing it, to be found in the Jewish writings; though I own that of putting scarlet wool upon the head of it, was an old custom among the Jews. See Dr. Prideaux's Connect. of the History of the Old and New Testament, Part II. Book I. in the beginning.

4. Chap. VIII. in making the heifer (Num. xix.) to be a type of Christ, our author's fancy seems to grow more fruitful and luxuriant; because there was not enough in Moses's institution to suit his purpose, he adds,

1.) *That certain men, guilty of the greatest sins, should bring the heifer.*

2.) *That young men should take up the ashes, and put them in vessels.*

* Vid. utriusque Annot. in loc.

3.) *That*

3.) *That the same young men should tie a piece of scarlet wool and hyssop upon a stick; and they should sprinkle every one of the people, that they should be clear from their sins* ^a.

Now there is not any intimation of either of these three things among the Laws of Moses, nor, as I can find, in any of the Jewish books; but our author found it necessary to invent them, to make his allegory more plausible, thus: "*The heifer is Christ; the wicked men that offered it, are those who brought him to his death—The young men who sprinkled them, are those who preach to us the Gospel of the remission of sins, and the purification of the heart, who were twelve, for a witness to the tribes, which were twelve.*" He is after so particular as to tell us, *The young men who sprinkled were three, viz. in testimony of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who were great before God.* But why was the wool put upon a stick? *Because the kingdom of Jesus was founded upon the cross, &c.*

5. Ch. IX. our author has given us a masterly stroke of his allegorizing talent, and seems so pleased and confident of his being right, that he says, *He who has put this infused gift of his doctrine in us, knows that I never taught any one a more pure (or genuine) doctrine. But I know that ye are worthy of it.* But sure never any thing was said more trifling and ridiculous, more silly and nauseous, than this most pure and genuine doctrine. I am here to observe only wherein it is false. His design is to prove, by the number of persons whom Abraham circumcised, that Abraham had therein regard to Christ; and that in the number of persons circumcised, were typified Christ and his cross. Let us now see his proof. *The Scripture, says he, tells us, that Abraham circumcised three hundred and eighteen men of his house: but what was the knowledge (or mystery) shewn to him herein? Understand ye that there are first eighteen, then three hundred.* (Now the Greek letter I denotes ten, and the Greek letter H denotes eight.) *Therein ye have the name Jesus, viz. because I and H are the two first letters of IHSOVS. And because he was to have grace by the*

^a These are observed by Menardus in loc.

cross, the sign of which is the Greek letter T, which is the Greek numeral letter for three hundred; he therefore added *three hundred*. So that Jesus is denoted by two letters (I and H, which signify eighteen), and his cross by one (T, which signifies three hundred). Glorious arguing indeed! Is it possible for any thing to be more silly in all the cabalistical books of the Jews? I cannot but break off, and appeal to our Archbishop and Mr. Whiston, whether this is to be received with little less veneration than the sacred writings? Whether this be the pure uncorrupt doctrine of our blessed Saviour? Whether this was wrote by the extraordinary assistance of the holy Spirit, and is an authoritative declaration of the Gospel of Christ, worthy of all acceptance, and ought to have a more than human approbation? In a word, whether an Epistle containing such trumpery is to be reckoned among the sacred books of the New Testament? But to return: it is not the silliness of the allegory, but the falseness of it, which I have now to do with; and I am not afraid to assert, that it is founded upon gross and plain mistakes, and so is entirely false.

There are, among others, three mistakes which are visibly such, viz.

- 1.) That Abraham circumcised three hundred and eighteen.
- 2.) That Abraham understood Greek, at least knew the Greek letters.
- 2.) That he knew the form of the cross.

1.) This allegory is founded upon a mistaken notion, that *Abraham did circumcise just three hundred and eighteen persons*. The words of the Epistle are, *Αβραμ γάρ καὶ περιέτμηκεν Ἀβραὰμ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ ἄνδρας δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ, καὶ τριακοσίους* i. e. the Scripture saith, *And Abraham circumcised three hundred and eighteen males of his house*. But in the whole Scriptures we shall find no such assertion. The place where the history of Abraham's circumcising his family is related, is Gen. xvii. 23, &c. and

all

all there said is, that *he himself was circumcised, his son Ishmael, and every male of his house, both those who were born there, and those who were bought with money.* But it is easy to see, what led the author of the Epistle to fix upon the number three hundred and eighteen, viz. that which is said Gen. xiv. 14. *And when Abraham heard that his brother was taken captive, he armed his trained servants born in his own house, three hundred and eighteen, and pursued them unto Dan.* Hence the author of the Epistle concluded, that Abraham circumcised three hundred and eighteen; but the conclusion is upon many accounts unjust, and it is probable Abraham circumcised many more than three hundred and eighteen at that time. To confirm this, observe,

1.] That when Abraham went forth against the four kings, he armed only מְלִיכָיָא i. e. as we render it, *his trained servants*, מְלִיכָאֵי Targ. Onkelos, i. e. *fortes*, those who were strong, and trained up to the business of war. There were left at home all the children of his family, and all infirm persons; but when he circumcised, he circumcised all ^a.

2.] When he went to war, he took with him only *those born in his own house*; but when he circumcised, he circumcised every male, both those born in his house, and those bought with money ^b.

3.] Abraham himself was not reckoned among the three hundred and eighteen; but he was among the circumcised.

4.] Ishmael was not born when Abraham went forth to battle (see Gen. xvi.), but *he* is also reckoned among the circumcised.

5.] There were near twenty years between Abraham's going forth to battle with the three hundred and eighteen, and the circumcision of his family; and it is very probable his family was considerably increased in that time.

^a Nam si trecentos et octodecem vernas potuit armare, non dubium est, quin alii essent non pauci, qui nondum apti erant militiæ per ætatem, præter emptitios multos. Ri-

vet. Exercit. 75. in Gen. xiv.

^b Scimus ingentem fuisse illi turbam domi, et quæ fere populum unum æquaret. Calvin. in Gen. xvii. 23.

All this makes it evident, that it was a mistake in the author of the Epistle, to suppose that Abraham circumcised the exact number of three hundred and eighteen; and consequently the whole foundation of the allegory is groundless and false.

2.) The author of the Epistle, in his allegory, supposes that Abraham *understood Greek*, at least *that he knew the Greek letters*. This is evident from those words, *Τίς ἔν η̅ δδθι̅σα αὐ-
τῷ γινώσκεις*; which is translated by the Archbishop thus, *But what therefore was the mystery which was made known to him?* Which clearly implies, that Abraham had all the mystery, which he supposes hidden under the three letters, I, H, T, made known and discovered to him; but this he could not possibly have, unless he knew those letters, and knew also what the numeral signification of each of those letters was. But was ever any thing more gross, more stupid, than to imagine that Abraham understood Greek? He must then understand a language, many hundred years before so much as the letters of it were invented. If there be any credit to be given to antiquity, the Greek letters were not known till Cadmus brought them from Phœnicia to Greece: see Herodotus ^a, Tacitus ^b, Euphorus in Clemens Alexandrinus ^c, and many others, cited by the great Bochart ^d. Cadmus is supposed to have lived about the middle time of the Judges, or somewhat after, viz. about the year of the world 2660 ^e.

3.) The author of the Epistle supposes, that *Abraham knew the punishment and form of the cross*. This is evident from what is above said; but that instrument of punishing was not known in the world till almost two thousand years after Abraham's time: it was, if I mistake not, originally a Roman punishment, and not known to the Jews till after their subjection to that empire; inasmuch that they had not in their language any word to denote it.

From all these things laid together, we have very sufficient evidence, not only of the weakness, but the mistakes and false-

^a Lib. 5. c. 58.

^d Canaan. lib. 1. c. 20.

^b Annal. lib. 11. c. 14.

^e Vid. Helvic.

^c Stromat. lib. 1. p. 306.

hood of this author, in his allegory concerning Christ and his cross, from the three hundred and eighteen men whom Abraham circumcised.

6. Ch. X. we have his wretched exposition of the laws of Moses, concerning animals which were not to be eaten, and as he most awkwardly explains them, by telling us they *relate to such and such duties of morality*; so to make room for his mystical interpretations, he premises, *Ἄρα οὐκ ἔστιν ἰστολὴ Θεοῦ τὸ μὴ τρώγειν. Μωσὴς δὲ ἐν πνεύματι ἰδέσθων: i. e. It was not the meaning of God's precepts, that they should abstain from eating such and such animals*; or, they were not obliged to regard the letter of the Law, as to abstinence from unclean animals, *for Moses had a spiritual meaning*; and a little after blames the Jews, that they understood Moses, when he forbade their eating these animals, as though he had been speaking about meats. But, as Menardus says, no doubt they had sinned if they had eaten any of these beasts, and they were literally obliged to observe these laws*. And this now makes the whole chapter to be one continual falsehood; for whereas he says, *Thou shalt not eat swine*, the Lawgiver meant, *thou shalt not live in pleasure, and forget God*; nor the hawk, eagle, kite, nor crow, he meant, *thou shalt not be ravenous*; nor the hare, i. e. *thou shalt not be adulterous*; and so in like manner of the rest; whereas, I say, he says these mystical interpretations were the primary intentions of Moses's laws, when it is certain he had not the least regard to them. It is evident the whole chapter is one continued falsehood, and especially in the conclusion, where he says, *We have a right understanding of these commandments, and speak as the Lord will have us*.

7. Ch. XII. he says that God prefigured the cross by another prophet, saying, *And when shall these things be accomplished?* The Lord answered, *When the tree shall be fallen down and rise up again, and when blood shall drop down from the tree*. But this also is false, inasmuch as neither God nor his prophets have said any such thing, but it was either taken

* In loc. He endeavours nevertheless to give the words this turn, that God principally commanded them to observe the spiritual meaning of the laws.

out of some Jewish Apocryphal book now lost, as Cotelierius^a, Dr. Bernard^b, and Bishop Pearson^c suppose; or out of the books of the Sibyls, which is the ingenious, and not improbable conjecture of Bishop Fell^d; unless we will rather choose to suppose it a pious fraudulent fiction of his own brain: either of these will sufficiently prove the author guilty of falsehood and mistake in this place.

8. Of the same sort is that in the same chapter, where the author says, *The Holy Spirit put it into the heart of Moses to make the sign of the cross, and of him that was to suffer—That Moses accordingly piled up armour upon armour on a rising ground, &c.* He refers to the history Exod. xvii. but the Scripture says no more than that Moses יָרָם יָדוֹ, i. e. *lift up his hand*, without any mention of the crossing them, or the piling of the armour. The text, says Bishop Pearson^e, *assures us of no more, than that Moses held up his hand, which might be without any similitude of a cross; and when both were lifted up by Aaron and Hur, the representation is not certain.* The matter of fact seems plainly to have been thus: Moses for a time held up the rod of God, first in one hand, and then in the other; till, both being weary, Aaron and Hur made him sit down, and stayed his hands; not that both hands, says Mr. Pool^f, were erected and joined together, which was not a fit posture for one holding a rod in his hand, but that Moses shifted the rod out of one hand into the other, when the former was weary; and that Aaron and Hur did each of them with both hands hold up that hand which was next to them successively, that they also might relieve one the other.

9. Of the same sort with the former is that towards the end of this twelfth chapter, where he says, *What saith Moses to Jesus the son of Nane (Nun), when he gave him, being a prophet, that name only for this purpose, that all the people might perceive that the father had manifested all things concerning his Son Jesus to the son of Nun. So then Moses giving him that*

^a Not. in loc.

^b Not. in loc.

^c On the Creed, Art. IV. pag.

201.

^d Annot. in loc.

^e Loc. jam. cit.

^f Annot. in Genes. xvii. 12.

Vid. etiam Rivet. in loc.

name, when he sent him to spy out the land, said^a, Take a book into thy hands, and write what the Lord saith, viz. that the son of God shall cut off by the roots all the house of Amalek in the last days. But there is nothing of this to be found in Scripture, viz. of the Son of God's destroying Amalek; but the place which our author referred to, undoubtedly was that in the chapter where he had been allegorizing just before, viz. Exod. xvii. 14. where God commands Moses, and not Moses commands Joshua (as it is in this spurious Epistle) to write the victory for a memorial in a book, and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua; for I will utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven.

10. The last mistake I shall mention in the author of this Epistle, is in the end of the same twelfth chapter, where, that he might find out a very express prediction of Christ, he refers to Isaiah xlv. 1. where, by a wilful and designed mistake, he reads Κυρίῳ for κέρε. The text runs thus: *Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus*, למשיחו לבוֹרֵשׁ, which the LXX. translate τῷ Χριστῷ μὲν τῷ Κύρῳ, and so it is in all the Greek Versions. But our author judged it to be to his purpose, and saw it to be a very easy change, and therefore for τῷ Χριστῷ μὲν Κύρῳ, puts τῷ Χριστῷ μὲν Κυρίῳ; i. e. instead of *The Lord said to my anointed Cyrus*, he sets down, *The Lord said to my anointed the Lord*, than which nothing can be a more notorious imposture. Nor is it to be said, that we should in Barnabas read Κύρῳ and not Κυρίῳ; because not only the Latin translation has *Domino* for it, but if it had been so, it would not have answered his design in the citation, viz. to prove that Christ was Lord.

Thus I have, in ten instances, endeavoured to shew the mistakes and falsehoods of this Epistle under the name of Barnabas; it were easy soon to instance in as many more: but as I am weary, and fear the reader should be so too, in dealing with such impertinencies, so I cannot but think the

^a Καὶ λέγει is not indeed in the Greek; but as there is *dixit* in the old Latin, and the sense requires

such a word, I have followed the Archbishop's Version, and inserted the words *and said*.

preceding instances will be, to every unprejudiced examiner, a full proof that there are notorious falsehoods, designed mistakes, and gross blunders in this Epistle, and consequently that it is to be esteemed Apocryphal by Prop. VIII.

C H A P. XLII.

The Epistle of Barnabas proved Apocryphal, by Instances of the trifling, silly Things which it contains.

Arg. VI. **T**HE Epistle under the name of Barnabas is Apocryphal by Prop. IX. as it contains several things which are trifling and silly. To collect all the instances of this sort, would be to transcribe a great part of the Epistle; I shall therefore select only a few instances out of many.

1. Chap. VI. he cites that place, Exod. xxxiii. 1. *Enter ye into the good land, of which the Lord hath sworn to Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, that he would give it you, &c.* Now, says he, *what the spiritual meaning of this is, learn, viz. Put your trust in Jesus, who shall be manifested to you in the flesh; for man is the earth which suffers, for man was made out of the superficies of the earth.* He means (Menard. in loc.) that the land flowing with milk and honey is faith in Christ, because Christ took his human nature out of land or earth, as he was of the posterity of Adam; and this earth (i. e. his human nature) suffered.

2. Ch. VIII. *The heifer (Num. xix.) he says, is Christ; the men that brought it to be sacrificed, were the Jews that crucified Christ; the young men that sprinkled the ashes, are the Apostles and preachers of the Gospel: they were three, because there were but three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The wool being put on a stick, denoted the kingdom of Jesus, which was founded upon the cross, which was wood.*

3. Ch.

3. Ch. IX. Abraham's circumcising three hundred and eighteen, shews, according to him, that he knew of Christ and his cross; for *eighteen* in Greek is denoted by I and H, the two first letters of the name Jesus; and *three hundred* is denoted by the letter T, which is the sign or form of the cross. *With less probability* (says Bishop Pearson^a) *did they gather both the name of Jesus, and the cross of Christ, from the three hundred and eighteen servants of Abraham, as if I H stood for Jesus, and T for the cross.*—*Such things may be applied, but prove not.* The learned Rivet, who had not seen this trifling stuff in Barnabas, observed and ridicules it in Clemens Alexandrinus, and adds; *This speculation has nothing solid in it, and is like most others of that sort, which do more damage to the interest of Christianity among infidels, than those good men were aware of, who gave themselves the liberty to make quidlibet ex quolibet, every text speak all that they could fancy*^b. The same writer, a little after, tells us a piece of cabalism, or allegory of the Jews, upon the number of Abraham's servants, viz. three hundred and eighteen; which I mention, because it is not much unlike, though I think it does not reach this of the pretended Barnabas. The name of Eliezer, Abraham's steward, according to the value of the Hebrew letters which compose it, makes three hundred and eighteen, thus:

	א	1
	ל	30
אליעזר	י	10
Eliezer.	ע	70
	ז	7
	ר	200

318

Now, say the Jews, the numeral letters of אליעזר Eliezer mak-

^a On the Creed, Art. IV. pag. 199.

^b In numero CCCXVIII. luit Clem. Alexand. Strom. l. 6. c. 4. Quia enim litera T CCC notat apud Græcos, quæ figuram crucis refert, et I H sunt initiales literæ nominis Jesu; inde elicit Abrahamæ domesticos esse, qui ad signum simul et nomen

Dei profugerunt, qui infideles superant et alios de captivitate erunt. Quæ speculatio nihil solidi habet, ut pleræque aliæ ejusdem generis; quæ plus officiant causæ Christianæ apud infideles, quam potuerint videre boni illi viri, qui sibi indulserunt quidlibet ex quolibet efficiendi. Exercitat. LXXV. in Gen. xiv.

ing just 318, the number of servants which Abraham armed, we learn hence, that Abraham did the business, and got the victory with Eliezer alone, who was equal to all of them, and that he left the rest at home, because either their sins or fears made them unfit to go.

I cannot but add here, what Archbishop Laud saith on this head, viz. *Numeralis illa theologia, fr̄ve scientia trium literarum I, H, T, (ut loquitur) mihi non placet. Nam etsi nescius non sum scriptores satis antiquos et consultos, Tertullianum, Clementem Alexandrinum, Irenæum, et alios, in ea ludere aliquando, tamen non sapit spiritum Apostolicum: i. e.* He is proving that this Epistle was not written by Barnabas, and gives this as a reason, viz. "his numeral divinity, or knowledge of the three letters (as he calls it) I, H, T, is what I cannot approve; for though I know that some antient and good writers (Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Irenæus, and others) have trifled in like manner sometimes, yet it does not look like an Apostolick spirit." Epist. ad Menard. præfix. Epist. Barnab. edit. Cleric.

4. Ch. X. Nothing can be more trifling than his assertions in this chapter, that Moses did not design to forbid the Israelites eating such and such animals, but had a spiritual meaning in each præcept; which this author imagines he at length has found out, though every one of his explications are beyond Moses's intention. I shall instance only in two or three. *Thou shalt not eat the hare*, that signifies *thou shalt not be a lover of boys (or sodomite); for the hare every year multiplies the places of its conception, and as many years as it lives, so many it has.* *Thou shalt not eat the hyæna*, that signifies *thou shalt not be an adulterer, nor like such; for that creature every year changes its kind, and is sometimes male, sometimes female.* He forbid the weasel, (Lev. xi. 29.) signifying thereby, that *they should not be like those who commit wickedness with their mouths by reason of their uncleanness, nor join themselves to those impure women who commit wickedness with their mouths; for that animal conceives by its mouth.* Thus happy is our author in his explications of the laws of Moses, which the Israelites, he says, did not understand, because they took them in a literal sense;

sense; yet is he so kind as to compliment David with some knowledge this way; for, he adds, though they understood Moses as only speaking of meats, yet, he says, *David took the commands in relation to the three sorts of animals* (viz. fishes, beasts and birds) *rightly; for he says, (Psal. i.) Blessed is the man who hath not walked in the counsel of the ungodly, (i. e. as the fishes which are unclean, who go down in darkness to the deep;) nor hath stood in the way of sinners, (i. e. as persons who seem to fear the Lord, but sin as the sow does :) and hath not sat in the seat of scorers, (i. e. as those who sit and watch that they may devour.)* Admirable reasoning indeed! Is this likely to proceed from one *full of faith and the Holy Ghost*, as Barnabas is said to be, Acts xi. 24?

5. Ch. XV. he proves the world shall last just six thousand years, and no more, because *God made the world in six days, and rested the seventh.*

The preceding instances are enough to prove the Epistle of Barnabas, to contain the most trifling and silly things. And can it be imagined, God would ever put his creatures under a necessity of believing things so contrary to their best improved and informed judgments? Or can such an author be fit to be a guide to us in matters of everlasting consequence? God forbid!

C H A P. XLIII.

An Examination of what is said by Bishop Fell and the Archbishop of Canterbury, in Vindication of the Allegories of this Epistle : the Jews' Use of such, no Apology for this Author : our Saviour and his Apostles never used any such Allegories.

I AM not insensible that Bishop Fell ^a and the present Archbishop of Canterbury ^b have endeavoured to evade the force of this argument, by telling us, “ it was the custom of
“ the Jews at that time, the practice of the Apostles (Bishop
“ Fell adds, and of our Saviour too), and of the primitive
“ Christians in the ages next succeeding Barnabas, to interpret the Scripture after the same manner ; and the last-
“ named writer adds, that if any of Barnabas’s seem to be far-
“ fetched, either the very same, or the traces and footsteps of
“ them, are to be found in St. Paul’s Epistles.” To which I answer.

1. That supposing all this to be true, the credit and authority of this Epistle must nevertheless sink, because his allegories and interpretations are *groundless, false, and proceed from and upon mistakes.*

2. That *the custom of the Jews can be no apology for Barnabas.* Their allegories, it is true, were as silly and trifling as his ; but will it at all justify a person in a fault, that others were guilty as well as he ? The merits of the cause are to be enquired into, and if it appear that the pretended Barnabas hath often trifled with and mistaken the Scripture (as I have above shewn), it will be nothing at all in his favour to say, the Jews were wont to do so too. The Jews dealt much in cabalism ; Barnabas did so too : is Barnabas therefore at all the better for that ? The Jews prove by their *Geometria* (a species of theoretick cabalism), that Eliezer, the numeral letters of whose name make three hundred and eighteen, was

^a Præfat. in Barnab.

^b Dissertation concerning the Epistle of Barnabas, chap. 7. §. 27.

taken by Abraham to war, and that he beat his enemies with him alone ; which is directly contrary to the Scripture, which says, *he took the three hundred and eighteen servants with him.* Barnabas by a like cabalism finds, that Abraham knew of Christ and his cross by the number three hundred and eighteen, whom he circumcised ; which is also, as I have proved, absolutely false. Is now the Jewish cabalism any apology for Barnabas's mistake ? The same way it were easy to argue in the other instances.

3. It is said by Bishop Fell, that *our Saviour himself used this way of reasoning and interpreting Scripture.* But that Bishop would have done well to tell us where. Sure no man who has read the Gospels ever imagined there were such things in them, as I have above produced out of Barnabas ; if there be, I desire the next patron of this Epistle to produce them for the good of mankind, who are in general ignorant of them. Our Saviour has indeed used parables ; but every one must see how different these are from the forced, far-fetched interpretations of this author. But on the contrary, our Saviour was so far from any thing of this sort, that, if I mistake not, he has often inveighed against it. In how many places does he speak against their traditions, which were for the most part founded upon such mystical, mistaken applications and interpretations of Scripture ! He tells them, that *in vain they worshipped him, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men ;* i. e. משניות the explications which the Pharisees, and that body of the Jews who reckoned the traditions as good as Scripture, gave of it^a, and of which the Cabala was a considerable part.

4. It is farther urged, that *the Apostle Paul, in his Canonical Epistles, affords many instances of this which is so much found fault with in Barnabas.* Any one may find, says Bishop Fell^b ; and I might easily make appear from a multitude of passages out of them, were it needful for me to enlarge myself on a point, which every one, who has read the Scriptures with any care, cannot choose but have observed, saith the Archbishop^c. I with either

^a See Matth. xv. and xxiii. and Mar. vii. and Dr. Lightfoot's Hor. Hebr. in Matt. xv. 2.

^b Loc. jam. cit.

^c In the place last cited.

the Bishop or his Grace had made this appear by particular proof; as they have not, I shall think it sufficient to say, till the contrary is proved, that I could never discern in Paul's Epistles any thing like what is in Barnabas. There are, it is true, two or three allegories; but then they are natural, just, and have all the perfections of an allegory in them; whereas those in Barnabas are unnatural, harsh, strained, and, what is worst of all, have the misfortune to be false, and built upon false foundations.

5. Whereas it is urged, that *the Christian writers of the ages succeeding Barnabas (Origen for instance, and Clemens Alexandrinus) have made use of the very same method of interpreting Scripture*; I answer, that it is indeed too true; they have done so, and done it to the great scandal of the Christian religion: their enemies derided and bantered them for it, as they justly might; and, as Rivet well observes in the place above cited, *they hurt the cause of Christianity by this means more than they were aware of*. Hence came the clamour in all ages, of *pious frauds and religious cheats*. What could weaken the Christian religion more, than pretending to support it by such idle reasonings as are in this Epistle under the name of Barnabas? What could do Christianity more injury, than to pretend to prove the truth of it by such predictions as this book contains, especially when as to many of them they were no where to be found, but were mere pious forgeries to serve a purpose? Such as these in the writings of the Fathers, lessened the opinion which the men of sense among the Pagans had of our holy religion; as well as they certainly lessen the opinion now of these Fathers, in the minds of many of solid learning and good judgment. The forgery of the Sibylline oracles in favour of Christianity, is a thing owned now almost by every one; see Casaubon^a, Daillé^b, Dr. Cave^c, Spanheim^d, and others cited to this purpose in the former volume^e. And who now can vindicate those primitive Christians,

^a Adv. Baron. Annal. Exercit. I. Num. 18.

^b Right Use of the Fathers, c. 3. p. 18, 19.

^c Hist. Liter. in Sibyll. p. 34.

^d Hist. Christ. Secul. II. §. 11.

^e Part II. Ch. XXXIV.

who either forged them, or made use of them to delude their adversaries? *Laudo propositum, consilium vehementer improbo, et toto pectore detestor*, says the great Casaubon^a; *I approve their design, the method of effecting I dislike and abhor with all my soul*. This learned writer thought it no virtue in the primitive Fathers, to make use of such methods as Barnabas to maintain Christianity. And it is well known that Celsus set Origen very hard to it for an answer, when he urges that *the Christians had corrupted the books of the Sibyls, by inserting many things in favour of Christianity into them*^b. See more to this purpose; Vol. I. Part II. Ch. XXXIV. p. 361. But after all, what apology can it be for Barnabas, that the Fathers followed him in his errors, and by his example were led into an unreasonable way of expounding Scripture? This, if the Epistle had been really written by Barnabas, would have been so far from extenuating, that it would have aggravated his crime. I conclude therefore, notwithstanding all these apologies, that this Epistle is both spurious and Apocryphal.

Arg. VII. The Epistle under the name of Barnabas is Apocryphal, because *it is not in the Syriack Version*, Prop. XV.

Upon the whole then I have endeavoured to prove, that the Epistle under the name of Barnabas was not written by him, but by some person who was originally a Pagan, who confesses himself formerly to have been an unbeliever in the true God, and a worshipper of idol-Gods, who making continually a distinction between Jew and Gentile, constantly ranks himself among the latter, and who has none of the Hebraisms of the Hellenistick language; that the Epistle was wrote after the destruction of Jerusalem, and consequently after the true Barnabas was dead; that it is Apocryphal, because it is not to be found in any of the ancient catalogues of the sacred books of the New Testament, not cited as Scripture in any of the writings of the primitive Fathers, but excluded from the Ca-

^a Loc. jam cit.

^b Orig. cont. Cels. lib. 7. p. 368, 369.

non by Origen and Clemens Alexandrinus, the only two Fathers who have made use of it: it was never read in any of the Christian Churches till the time of Jerome, and then only in some few among the Apocryphal Scriptures; it contains several things which are absolutely false, of which I have produced ten instances; it contains a great number of trifling, silly, and idle things, and is not in the Syriack Version. This I have endeavoured to prove; all which laid together, does (I think) afford us as much evidence as can be expected in things of this sort, that the high opinions, which many learned men have entertained of this Epistle, are groundless, and that it is not to be looked upon either as a sacred book, or any thing like a sacred book of the New Testament.

I have nothing farther to add concerning this Epistle, unless it be to conjecture, that, because only Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen have cited it, it was forged at Alexandria; and because there are so many pious frauds in it, that it was the forgery of some such person as corrupted the books of the Sibyls, and that it was written about the middle of the second century.

I N D E X

TO THE

SECOND VOLUME.

A

ABGARUS, King of Edeffa, his Epistle to Christ, with Christ's Answer, 2. An account of it by Eusebius and Ephraem Syrus, 4, 6. thought spurious by several learned men, 7, n. and proved so by six several arguments, 10.

AHMED-IBN-IDRIS, a Mahometan writer, says, the Gospel of our Saviour's Infancy was used by some Christians, as the other four Gospels, 167, n.

ASTERIUS, a writer of the fourth century, his account of the brazen statue of our Saviour, erected by the woman, whom he cured of the issue of blood, 26, n.

ATHANASIUS, his account of a picture of Christ, presented by Nicodemus to Gamaliel, 26, n.

AUSTIN, cites the Epistles of Paul and Seneca, 62. highly commends Seneca, 74, n. he entertained a prodigious veneration for reliques, 256. makes mention of Thecla, 390.

B

BARCLAY ROBERT, his Apology for the Quakers, &c. noted, 403.

BARNABAS, the Epistle of, cited by antient Fathers, generally esteemed by the learned as genuine, and adjudged by some of equal authority with the books of the Canon, 412. The testimonies of the antients, 413. and sentiments of the moderns, concerning it, 422. This Epistle proved to be wrote by an original Gentile, 432. A remark on 1 Pet. iv. 3. p. 433. it was wrote after the destruction of Jerusalem, 436. Barnabas was one of the 70 Disciples, 436. Explication of John xxi. 21. and Matt. xvi. 28. p. 438. This Epistle is Apocryphal, because not found in any Catalogue of the sacred books of the New Testament, 440. nor cited by the primitive Christians as Scripture, 440. nor read by them as the word of God: 443. one part contradicts

INDEX.

tradicts another, 444. it contains things which are false, 445. Three visible mistakes in it produced and detected, 448. Five instances of things trifling and silly, 454. It is Apocryphal, because not in the Syriack Version, &c. 461. A conjecture, that it was forged at Alexandria by some person that corrupted the books of the Sibyls, about the middle of the second century, 462.

BARONIUS rejects the Epistles of Paul and Seneca, as spurious, 77, n. esteems the history of Paul and Thecla, as genuine, 392, n.

BELLARMINE rejects the Epistles of Paul and Seneca, as spurious, 77, n.

BERNARD, Dr. his opinion of Barnabas's Epistle, 427. his assertion that it was read in the churches, together with Canonical books, refuted, 443, n.

BEZA, his opinion on John ii. 11. p. 238, n.

BIBLIANDER. Vide **POSTELLUS**.

C

CANTERBURY, present Archbishop of, demonstrates the story and Epistles of Christ and Abgarus to be spurious, 9, n. his opinion concerning St. Paul's Epistle to the Laodiceans, refuted, 42. his sentiments of the Epistle of Barnabas, 428, n. An examination of his vindication of the Allegories, contained in that Epistle, &c. 458.

CASAUBON, a mistake of his concerning the Arabick translation of Mark iii. 21. corrected by De Dieu, 242. his opinion concerning the Acts of Pilate, 333, n. he censures the Epistle of Barnabas, and the primitive Fathers, for quoting, and too frequently making use of, the Sibylline books, 461, n.

CAVE, Dr. his opinion concerning the history of the Epistles of Christ and Abgarus, 8, n. He reckons the Epistle to the Laodi-

ceans among the forgeries of the Manichees, 49, n. rejects the Epistles of Paul and Seneca as spurious, 77, n. his opinion of the Epistle of Barnabas, 428, n. Exposition of John xxi. 21. p. 438, n.

CEDREUS, his account of the seal, which Christ affixed to his Epistle to Abgarus, 7, n.

CELIBACY, its doctrine confirmed out of the Acts of Paul and Thecla, 392, n.

CHARDIN, Sir John, his account of the Gospel of the infancy of Christ, in an Armenian legend, 232.

CHEMNITIVS censures the Epistles of Christ and Abgarus as spurious, 8, n. his judgment on John ii. 11. p. 238, n. condemns for spurious the accounts of our Saviour's infancy, 241, n. proves that there was no adoration offered to the Virgin Mary, till the fourth or fifth century, 254, n. nor reliques known to the primitive Christians, 255, n. A merry story of his concerning the latter, 258.

CHRIST, an Epistle under his name to an Arabian King, translated out of Syriack into Greek, and preserved in the writings of Eusebius, 2, n. 4. An account of the seal (consisting of seven Hebrew letters) which he used, &c. 7, n. These Epistles esteemed by several learned men, spurious and Apocryphal, 8, n. and proved by several arguments to be so, 9. the main objection concerning it answered, 18. A conjecture, that the history of these Epistles is an interpolation into the works of Eusebius, with several arguments to support it, 19. A fragment concerning Christ's picture, which he sent to Abgarus, taken out of the *Orthodoxographia*, 22. A relation of a miracle wrought by it, 23, n. The story of this picture was common among the writers of the sixth and following centuries, *ibid.* A digression out of Monsieur *Durant*, concerning

I N D E X.

- cerning four pictures of Christ, made during his life on earth, 24. A prayer of his (probably a Mahometan forgery) different from that in the Gospels, 27. proved spurious, 29, n.
- CHRIST's** Infancy, the Gospel of, published and translated by Mr. Henry Sike, at Utrecht, in 1697, p. 166. Another under the name of Thomas, out of Cotelierius's notes on the Constitutions of the Apostles, who printed it out of a MS. in the French King's library, 221. These seem to be originally the same, 226. The ancient Gospel of Thomas different from this of the Infancy of Christ, 227. They are mentioned by the antients as two distinct books, &c. 228. Christ's Infancy a forgery of the Gnosticks, *ibid.* received by the Marcionians in the second century, 229. known to Mahomet, and made use of by the compilers of the Alcoran, 230. contained in the Legends of the Persians, 232, n. They are Apocryphal, and not received by the ancient Christians, 235. The design of them false, *ibid.* proved from Scripture, and the universal silence of the first Christian writers, 236. and from St. John's Gospel, ch. ii. 11. p. 237. That text critically discussed, 238. Intimations in Scripture, that Christ wrought no miracles in his infancy, 241. This positively asserted by several Fathers, 243, n. These Gospels proved Apocryphal from the trifling stories, and many falsities in them contained, 246. because they contain things later than the time in which they pretend to be written, 251. because of the prodigious respect paid by them to the Virgin Mary, 252. The opinions of Dr. Mill, Mr. La Croze, and the author, concerning these Gospels, 258, 2.
- CHRYSOSTOM** asserts, the first miracle wrought by Christ was in Cana of Galilee, and calls the miracles ascribed to his infancy, forgeries and lies, 245, n. He entertained a great veneration for reliques, 256. cites the Acts of Pilate, 330, n. mentions the Acts of Paul and Thecla, 391, n.
- CLARKE**, Dr. S. his opinion of Barnabas's Epistle, 429, n. refuted, 440.
- CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS**, his testimonies concerning Barnabas's Epistle, 413. His copies corrupted, and Barnabas inserted for Clemens Romanus, 419. he had too high an opinion of Barnabas's Epistle, 441. yet contradicts it, 442.
- LE CLERC**, Mr. censures the story and Epistles of Christ and Abgarus for spurious, 9, n. His opinion upon the text, Col. iv. 16. refuted, 41. his opinion concerning the Acts of Pilate, 334, n. concerning Barnabas's Epistle, 430.
- COCUS** condemns, as spurious, the whole story and Epistle of Christ to Abgarus, 8, n. rejects the Epistles of Paul and Seneca, 77.
- COLLINS**, Dr. his observation on John ii. 11. p. 238, n.
- COLLYRIDIANI**, whence so named, 253.
- COTELIERIUS**, his fragment of the Infancy of Christ, 221. His opinion of Barnabas's Epistle, 426.
- LA CROZE**, Monsieur, cites a synod, held in the diocese of Angamala, in the mountains of Malabar, A. D. 1599, which condemns the Gospels of Christ's Infancy, &c. 167, n. 258, n. His opinion of those Gospels, *ibid.* n.
- CROSS**, the practice of signing with, by whom first mentioned, 348, 406.
- CYPRIAN** makes mention of Thecla, 389.

D

- DARIUS COMES**, in an Epistle to Auspin, seems to refer to the letters of Christ and Abgarus, 7, n.
- DE DIEU** corrects a mistake of Casaubon

I N D E X.

- faubon in the Arabick translation of Mark iii. 21. p. 242, n.
DODWELL, Mr. his opinion of the Epistle of Barnabas, and of Hermes, 427, n.
DURANT, Monsieur, A digression out of him concerning several pictures of Christ, made during his life on earth, 24.

E

- EACHARD**, Mr. rejects the Epistles of Paul and Seneca as spurious, 77, n. his opinion of Barnabas's Epistles, 429, n.
EPHRAEM SYRUS mentions the Epistles of Abgarus to Christ, and Christ's answer, 5.
EPHANIUS, a notorious error in our present copies of him concerning Marcion's Evangelium and Apostolicon, 38, n. He esteems the miracles of Christ's infancy to be fables, 244. A relation from him about some silly women, who first sacrificed to the Virgin Mary, 252. His account of Thecla, 390.
ERASMUS, his opinion that the Epistle to the Laodiceans was stolen out of the Epistle to the Colossians, 48, n. He attempts to prove the Epistle spurious from its stile, 48.
ESTIUS condemns for spurious, the accounts of the miracles wrought by Christ in his infancy, 240, n.
EUAGRIUS confirms a story of the city of Edessa, that it should never be taken, &c. 7, n. relates a surprising miracle wrought by Christ's picture, which he sent to Abgarus, 23.
EUSEBIUS cites an Epistle of our Saviour to an Arabian king, 2, n. A character of Eusebius by Scaliger, and others, 18. He says he saw a brass statue of our Saviour at Cæsarea Philippi, 25. as also the pictures of Peter and Paul, *ibid.* He appeals to the Acts of Pilate, 331, n. Three citations out of him, proving those Acts to be Pagan forgeries, 338. A short account from him of Thecla,

389. His testimonies concerning the Epistle of Barnabas, 420.

F

- FABER**, TANAQUILLUS, his opinion concerning the Acts of Pilate, 333, n.
FABRICIUS, Mr. his censure on the story and Epistles of Christ and Abgarus, 9, n. He was of opinion, that the Epistle to the Laodiceans was stolen out of the Epistle to the Philippians, 48, n. rejects the Epistles of Paul and Seneca as spurious, 77, n. His collection of the sentiments of Protestants and Papists, concerning the Protevangelion, 164. He takes the Gospel of Thomas for the Infancy of Christ, 167, n. His opinion of the Acts of Pilate, 333.
FELL, Bishop, his sentiments concerning Barnabas's Epistle, 426, n. His vindication of the allegories, contained in that Epistle, examined, &c.

G

- GELASIUS** rejects, as Apocryphal and spurious, the Epistle under the name of Christ to Abgarus, 7, n. and also the Gospel of Thomas, and the book of Christ's Infancy, 228. declares the Acts of Paul and Thecla Apocryphal, 388, n.
GRABE, Dr. his arguments for the Epistle of Christ to Abgarus, 8, n. He esteems the history of Paul and Thecla as true and genuine, 392. contradicts himself, 398.
GREGORY NAZIANZEN makes mention of the Acts of Paul and Thecla, 391, n.
GROTIUS is of opinion with Tertullian, that the Epistle, now intitled to the Ephesians, was formerly intitled to the Laodiceans, 38, n. refuted, 41. His observation on the text John ii. 11. p. 238. His arguments about the Acts of Pilate, 333, n.
GRYNÆUS,

I N D E X.

GRYNÆUS, his oversight and mistake about the Protevangelion, 163.

H

HAMMOND, Dr. believes the present Epistle to the Ephesians was formerly intituled to the Laodiceans, 38, n. This opinion refuted, 43. his exposition of John xxi. 21. p. 438.

HELLENISTICK language, what, 139.

HILSCHER, Mr. his relation of a Mahometan tradition, concerning Christ in his infancy, 233, n.

HUETIUS cites the Acts of Pilate, 333, n.

I

JENKIN, Dr. his account of Pilate's information and character of Christ, 332. his opinion concerning the Epistle of Barnabas, 431, n.

JEROME seems to refer to the history of the Epistles of Christ and Abgarus, 7. His account of the Epistle to the Laodiceans, 47, n. He mentions the Epistles of Paul and Seneca, and gives a reason for placing the latter in his catalogue of saints, 61. translates the Gospel of the Birth of Mary out of Hebrew, at the request of Chromatius and Heliodorus, 78. Their Epistle to him, and his answer concerning it, 93. Another ascribed to him to the same purpose, 97. He entertained a veneration for reliques, 256. cites the Acts of Pilate, 332, n. reckons the Acts of Paul and Thecla among the Apocryphal Scriptures, 387, n. His testimonies concerning the Epistle of Barnabas, 420. He says, it was read among Apocryphal books, 443, n.

IRENÆUS, his censure of the Hereticks, for making use of the Gospels of the Infancy of Christ, 229, n. He is the only antient Christian, who makes mention of them, 230.

JUSTIN MARTYR appeals to the Acts of Pilate, 331, n.

K

KING, Lord Chief Justice, his collection of all the Creeds within the three first centuries cited, 17, n.

KNATCHBULL, Sir Norton, his opinion upon the text, Col. iv. 16. refuted, 42.

L

LACTANTIUS cites the Epistles of Paul and Seneca, 74, n.

LAUD, Archbishop, his judgment of the Epistle of Barnabas, 424.

LIGHTFOOT, Dr. his conjecture concerning the words of Paul, Col. iv. 16. p. 45, n. Exposition of the text, John xxi. 21. p. 438.

LINUS, his Acts spurious, 63. and rejected by several Popish and Protestant writers as such, *ibid.*

LOCRINUS esteemed the Acts of Paul and Thecla as genuine, 392, n.

LUDOVICUS VIVES rejects the Epistles of Paul and Seneca as spurious, 77, n.

M

MAHOMETANS were well versed in the Gospel of Christ's Infancy, 230, n. Some of their traditions concerning this Gospel, 231, n.

MARCOSTANS, a branch of the Gnosticks, 229.

MARY, the Gospel of her Birth, published out of Jerome, 78. This Gospel extant in the third, and even second century, and received by several antient hereticks as genuine, 130, n. it received many alterations, and the antient copies were different from that of Jerome, 131. formerly went under the name of St. Matthew, &c. 132. is for the most part the same as the Protevangelion of James, 133. This Gospel contains several contradictions to the Evangelion,

I N D E X.

gelson, *ibid.* Instances of them, *ibid.* Several relations in both credited by antient writers, 134. The Gospel and Protevangelion wrote by a Jew, or Hellenist, 139. A conjecture that the Gospel was the later book, and made out of the Protevangelion, 144. but both are Apocryphal, *ibid.* This Gospel rejected as such by Austin, 145. and by Gelasius, 146. both of them are such, because neither was read in the Christian churches, and because they contain things contrary to known truths, 147. Falsehoods in this Gospel detected, *ibid.* Both books Apocryphal from their fabulous contents, 152. A collection of trifling stories in this Gospel, *ibid.* Instances in it of accounts borrowed from Canonical books, 155. This book Apocryphal, because not in the Syriack Version, 159.

MARY, Virgin, Adoration, &c. when first offered to her, 252.

MEDE, his exposition of John xxi. 21. p. 438.

MENARDUS, HUGO, an account of him, and his sentiments concerning the Epistle of Barnabas, 423.

MILL, Dr. would persuade us that St. Paul directed the Epistle, intitled to the Ephesians, to the Laodiceans; and that the present title to the Ephesians is false, 39, n. his opinion, that these Epistles were the same, refuted, 43. his opinion concerning the original of the Gospel of Christ's Infancy, 258, n. of Barnabas's Epistle, 429, n.

N

NESSER, DANIEL DE, says there are five MSS. of the Protevangelion in the library of Vienna, 158, n.

NICODEMUS, Gospel of, taken out of the Orthodoxographa, 262. was formerly called the Acts of Pilate, and why, 329. The name of Nicodemus was (according to Fabricius) given this Gos-

pel by the Anglo-Saxons and Britons, &c. 330, n. probably some accounts of Christ, &c. were sent by Pilate to Tiberius, *ibid.* The Acts of Pilate appealed to by Justin Martyr and Tertullian, 331, n. who affirm that he sent them to the Emperor, *ibid.* It does not appear that any Christian writer ever saw these Acts, 334, n. The original and occasion of these Acts or Gospel considered, 336. Leucius Charinus proved to be the author, 342. This Gospel, &c. proved Apocryphal by several propositions, 346. Miscellaneous remarks on it, 350.

NONNUS asserts, that the first miracle Christ wrought, was in Cana of Galilee, 245, n.

O

OCOBIVS DE CASTRO cites a Gospel of Thomas, which Mr. Fabricius takes for the Gospel of the Infancy, &c. 167, n.

ORIGEN, his testimonies concerning the Epistle of Barnabas, 419. He did not esteem it as Canonical Scripture, 441.

ORTHODOXOGRAPHIA, a fragment out of it concerning Christ's picture, which he sent to Abgarus, 22. Vide PROTEVANGELION.

OSIANDER censures the Epistles of Christ and Abgarus for spurious, 8, n.

P

PAMELIUS, his opinion concerning the Acts of Pilate, 333, n.

PARKER, Dr. his sentiments concerning the letters of Christ and Abgarus, 8, n. His opinion, that Pilate transmitted an account of Christ, &c. to the Emperor, 332, n.

PAUL, St. his Epistle to the Laodiceans highly esteemed by several learned men, and its genuineness contended for by the Quakers, 32, n. Two MSS. of it produced

duced by Sixtus Senensis, *ibid.* n. An Epistle under this title extant in Marcion's time, 37. Marcion's Apostolicon, *ibid.* St. Paul wrote no such Epistle, 39. the occasion of the forgery taken from Col. iv. 16. *ibid.* Various opinions upon that text, 40. The present Epistle to the Laodiceans not the same that was in Marcion's Apostolicon, 46, n. is spurious and Apocryphal, 47. stole out of St. Paul's genuine Epistles, *ibid.* A conjecture concerning its original, 49. Paul's Epistles to Seneca, and Seneca's to Paul, 50. extant in the fourth century, 61. None of the Fathers, besides Jerome and Austin, saw them, 62. A fragment out of Linus concerning them, 63. The present are the same as the ancient Epistles, 65, n. They were not received as authentick by the two Fathers above-mentioned, 66. Several evidences of their spuriousness, 69. The author's conjecture concerning the forgery of them, and the time of it, 75. A list of the writers, Protestant and Popish, who have rejected these Epistles as spurious, 77, n. PAUL and THECLA, the Acts of; published out of a MS. in the Bodleian library, 353. Several reasons for inserting these Acts, 387. They were ranked among the Apocryphal Scriptures by some primitive Fathers, *ibid.* several things contained in them were credited by the same Fathers, 388, n. They went under St. Paul's name, 391. and were esteemed as genuine by several moderns, 392, n. were, in part, the forgery of a Presbyter of Asia, mentioned by Tertullian, 393. The present Acts different from the ancient book written by that Presbyter, 394. Are Apocryphal and spurious, by the confession of their author, 395. because never mentioned in the catalogue of sacred books of the New Testament, 397. nor cited as such by any primitive Fathers, *ibid.* be-

cause they contain many falsehoods, &c. 399. and idle and fabulous relations, 404. relate things later than the time in which they are said to be done, 406. The author's conjecture concerning the original and occasion of these Acts, 411.

PEARSON, Bishop, cites the Acts of Pilate, 333, n.

PHILASTRIUS, his account of the Epistle to the Laodiceans, 47, n.

PHOTIUS, his account of the Acts of Thecla, written in verse by Basil of Seleucia, 391, n.

PILATE, Acts of. See NICODEMUS.

DU PIN, his censure of the story and Epistles of Christ and Abgarus, 9, n. he rejects the Epistle of Paul and Seneca, as spurious, 77, n. His sentiments of Barnabas's Epistle, 427, n.

POSSEVIN rejects the Epistles of Paul and Seneca, as spurious, 77, n.

POSTELLUS and BIBLIANDER, their account of the Protevangelion refuted, 161.

PRAYERS for the dead, its antiquity and origin, 407.

PROCOPIUS CÆSARIENSIS, his relation of the Epistles of Christ and Abgarus, 7, n.

PROTEVANGELION of James, published out of the Orthodoxographia of Jacobus Grynæus, 100. is different from the ancient Gospel of Mary, &c. 134. was wrote by a Jew or Hellenist, 139. Our author conjectures that this was the older book, and that the Birth of Mary was made out of it, 144. both are Apocryphal, *ibid.* and proved so for several reasons, 147. Instances of falsehoods in this book, *ibid.* both these books Apocryphal from their fabulous contents, 152. A collection of trifling stories, *ibid.* Instances of things borrowed from Canonical books, 153. several contradictions in it, 156. It is Apocryphal, because not in the Syriack Version, 157. Several MS. copies of it now extant in Europe,

rope, 157. Two in the French King's library, and five at Vienna, *ibid.* n. It was first made known in Europe by Pottellus, and published by Bibliander, A. D. 1552. 158. rejected as spurious and Apocryphal, by most Protestants and Papists, 164.

Q

QUAKERS contend for the genuineness of Paul's Epistle to the Laodiceans, 32, n.

R

RELIQUES, their original, 256. much venerated by Austin, Jerome, Chrysostom, and others, *ibid.* A merry story from Chemnitius concerning them, 258, n.

RICHARDSON, Mr. detects a false assertion of Mr. Toland, concerning the Epistle of Barnabas, 441, n.

RIVET, his censure of the story of Epistles of Christ and Abgarus, 8, n. he rejects the Epistles of Paul and Seneca as spurious, 77, n.

S

SALMERON, the Jesuit, contends for the genuineness of St. Paul's Epistle to the Laodiceans, 32, n.

SCALIGER, his character and censure of Eusebius, 18, n.

SCHOTTUS, A. A citation out of him concerning Seneca, 74. he rejects the Epistles of Paul and Seneca as spurious, 77, n.

SELDEN, Mr. in his Commentary on Eutychius, produces a prayer of our Lord, different from that in the Gospels, 27. An account of it taken from the Dean of Norwich's Life of Mahomet, &c. 31.

SENECA, his Epistles to Paul, 50. extant in the fourth century, and cited by Jerome and Austin only, 62, n. He is ranked in the catalogue of saints by the former, *ibid.* applauded by Tertullian, for his treatise of superstition, 74,

n. cited by Lactantius, *ibid.* n. highly commended by Austin, 75, n. See St. PAUL.

SEVERUS, SULPITIUS makes mention of the Acts of Paul and Thecla, 391, n.

SIMON, Father, condemns the Epistles of Christ and Abgarus for spurious, 9, n. mentions two Greek MSS. of the Protevangelion in the French King's library, 157.

SIXTUS SENENSIS cites two MSS. of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Laodiceans, 32, n. attempts to prove the Epistle spurious, 48.

SPANHEIM, the younger, proves the story and Epistles of Christ and Abgarus to be spurious, 9, n. rejects the Epistles of Paul and Seneca, 77, n. A citation out of him concerning the worship of the Virgin Mary, &c. 253, n. his opinion of the Acts of Pilate, 333, n. his opinion of Barnabas's Epistle, 428, n.

STAPLETON, the Jesuit, contends for the genuineness of St. Paul's Epistle to the Laodiceans, 32, n.

T

TERTULLIAN differs, in his account of Marcion's Apostolicon, from Epiphanius, 38, n. and is in this mistaken, 39. He applauds Seneca for his treatise on superstition, 74, n. appeals to, and often cites, the Acts of Pontius Pilate, 331. is the first that mentions the practice of signing with the cross, 348. ranks the Acts of Paul and Thecla among Apocryphal Scriptures, 387, n. and declares it the forgery of an Asiatick Presbyter, *ibid.*

TESSARESCAIDECATITES, why so called, 329. their rise about the latter end of the third century, 337.

THECLA. Vide PAUL.

THEOPHYLACT, his opinion concerning the Epistles to the Laodiceans and Ephesians, refuted, 44. he asserts that Christ wrought

I N D E X.

no miracles in his infancy, 245, n.

TOLAND, a notorious blunder of his, in citing Austin concerning the Epistles of Paul and Seneca, 66, n. his opinion concerning Barnabas's Epistle, 428, n. he falsely asserts, that Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen cited the aforementioned Epistle as Scripture, 441, n.

U

VALESIUS, his opinion concerning the Acts of Pilate, 333, n.

VOSSIUS, ISAAC, his opinion of Barnabas's Epistle, 425, n.

USHER, Archbishop, his sentiments of Barnabas's Epistle, 423.

W

WALTHER demonstrates the Epistles of Christ and Abgarus to be spurious, 9, n. rejects the Epistles of Paul and Seneca as such, 77, n. cites the Acts of Pilate, 333.

WHISTON, Mr. his opinion of Barnabas's Epistle, 430, n.

WHITBY, Dr. believes the present Epistle to the Ephesians, was formerly intitled to the Laodiceans, 38, n. his opinion, that the Epistle to the Laodiceans and Ephesians was the same, refuted, 41. His exposition of John xxi. 21. p. 438.

END OF VOL. II.

ERRATA IN VOL. II.

- P.** 3. l. 11. for ἰδίμην read ἰδίμην
 7. l. 27. for Θεῶν, Σαῦμα read Θεῶν Σαῦμα
 9. in note ^f for *Secul.* read *Secul.* 1.
 140. l. 27. for *n* read *in*
 168. l. 26. after *salutem* add *mundi*
 194. l. 23. for *divulgaberis* read *divulgaveris*
 211. l. 2. for *Demoni* read *Domino*
 253. l. 21. for Ἑπαναγνῆς read Ἑπαναγνῆς
 258. l. 33. for *revived* read *received*
 282. l. 29. for *Judæ* read *Judæi*
 305. l. 14. for *hat* read *that*
 390. l. 13. for ἀπεφρονῶ read ἀπεφρονῶ
 —l. 19. for *vere* read *vero*
 —l. 28. after *thalamo* place a comma, and erase it after *amore*
 420. l. 22. for *Hypotoposes* read *Hypotyposes*









